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CAMBRIDGE
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

GENEALOGY DEPARTMENT

Proceedings
for the years 1961-1963

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Cambridge Historical Society

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Proceedings for the years 1961-1963

CAMBRIDGE · MASSACHUSETTS
1964

Allen County Public Library
Ft. Wayne, Indiana

PRINTED AT THE STINEHOUR PRESS • LUNENBURG • VERMONT

COLLOTYPE ILLUSTRATIONS PRINTED AT
THE MERIDEN GRAVURE COMPANY • MERIDEN • CONNECTICUT

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The Cambridge Historical Society

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Colonel Richardson and the Thirty-Eighth Massachusetts

By RICHARD C. EVARTS

THIS STORY really begins on April 19, 1775. About six o'clock in the evening of that warm, sunny spring day the red-coated British regulars, in full retreat from Concord and Lexington, streamed into Cambridge from Menotomy, now Arlington. All the way they had been under harassing fire. As they moved down what is now Massachusetts Avenue on their way back to Boston, they were fired at by one Moses Richardson, a Cambridge resident, and two other men from behind a pile of casks in the yard of Jacob Watson, a blacksmith. Flankers of the main British column promptly killed all three. A fourth, described as a half-witted youth, sent to get the bodies of the other three, was later killed as he cheered the Redcoats, believing that he was witnessing a colorful parade. This, of course, was publicized as a British atrocity. All this took place near what is now the southwest corner of Rindge and Massachusetts avenues. A tablet on the outer edge of the sidewalk, now generally hidden by parked cars, commemorates the occasion, and the four men lie buried in the old town burying ground under a monument erected in 1870 on which their names can be read by passers-by on Garden Street.

At the time of his death Moses Richardson, although over fifty years old, belonged to a company of Minutemen. He died as a soldier. He was a much respected citizen of Cambridge who in his younger days had served with Wolfe at Quebec. He was well known as a skilled and capable carpenter and housewright or builder.

Eighty-five years afterwards, in the latter part of 1860, a meeting was held in Lyceum Hall in Harvard Square, located where the Harvard Cooperative Society's building now stands, to celebrate the election of President Lincoln. At that meeting Henry Wilson, the junior Senator from Massachusetts, and Congressman Anson Burlingame spoke, and in the course of their remarks said that the threats of secession and war by the Southern states were merely bluff and bluster. There would be no secession; there would be no war.

James Prentiss Richardson, a great-grandson of Moses, was present at the meeting, and at the urging, he said, of his friends, got up to speak. He told the audience that, with all deference to the opinions of the eminent statesmen, he disagreed with them. He had for some time subscribed to the *New Orleans Times Picayune* and the *Charleston* (South Carolina) *Courier* and was convinced that the speakers had misjudged the temper and character of the Southern people. Those people were fully determined to secede from the Union, by force if necessary, and it was incumbent on those who loved the Union immediately to form military organizations to prevent secession. He suggested that the Wide Awakes, the bands of young men who had been so active for Lincoln in the Presidential campaign, would make a good nucleus. But he said, "my speech was received with sneers, smiles of incredulity and derisive laughter."

Richardson, however, had the courage of his convictions. He decided to form forthwith a military company to be ready for the war he was certain would soon take place. He was then about thirty-nine years old, having been born August 21, 1821, and had a wife and four children. The family lived on Western Avenue in what was then called Cambridgeport—and still is, although at that time the physical divisions between East Cambridge, Cambridgeport, and Old Cambridge were more pronounced than they are now. He had a law office on Main Street, now Massachusetts Avenue, in a building opposite Pearl Street near Central Square. Without a degree from any college he had entered Harvard Law School and had received the degree of Bachelor of Laws in 1855.

That school was a struggling institution then, and the academic requirements for entrance were not as now. It had the merit, however, of turning out fewer, and, some think, better lawyers than it does today. A considerable artistic talent, which was part of the make-up of James Richardson, enabled him to support himself during his attendance at law school, and earlier, by painting decorative panels which embellished the stagecoaches of the time. In the *Cambridge Directory* for 1850 he is listed as a coach painter.

One of Richardson's avocations was attending fires with the volunteer fire companies of Cambridge. This gave him a wide acquaintance among the young members of those companies, who were excellent military material. Another avocation was politics. He had been active in the Lincoln campaign, and previously had been elected three times to the Cambridge Board of Aldermen.

Despite the scorn and derision of his fellow citizens, early in January, 1861, Richardson placed a notice in the *Cambridge Chronicle* which read:

The undersigned proposes to organize a company of volunteers to tender their services to our common country and to do what they can to maintain the integrity of the Union and the glory of our flag. Any citizen of good moral character and sound in body, who wishes to join the corps, will please call at my office, Main Street, Cambridgeport. James P. Richardson.

This was followed by posters placed throughout the city, and torn down by his wife (who can blame her?) as soon as posted up. One at least, however, survives and reads as follows:

ATTENTION
VOLUNTEERS

All persons desirous of joining a volunteer company to protect the Union of the United States are invited to meet

in

Franklin Hall

on Friday evening next

at 7½ o'clock

J. P. Richardson

Cambridgeport, January 17, 1861

Franklin Hall was on the floor above Richardson's office. There

the volunteers drilled in the evenings. In view of the amused skepticism of the more respected residents and the violent opposition of his wife, the response of the younger men must have been heartening. In a few days more than sixty men signed the roll. "In the meantime," he wrote, "I had to endure a fire of raillery and sarcasm from nearly everyone I met as I walked the streets between my house and my office. Squibs were published in the local paper making fun of my warlike preparations and every would-be wit seemed to think it the best joke of the day."

But he had one powerful ally. Governor John A. Andrew believed, as he did, that war was imminent, and although he had no intention of going himself, rather looked forward to it and to showing what Massachusetts could do. Accordingly, he encouraged Richardson in his efforts and promised arms and equipment.

On April 12, 1861, Fort Sumter was fired on. On April 13 it surrendered. On April 15 Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 men for three months' service. The quota for Massachusetts was two regiments, and Richardson's company was the first in the nation to be mustered into the federal service. Let Richardson tell about it in his own words:

The President issued his call for seventy-five thousand men to serve for three months. It was on the 16th of April 1861. I had been in court all day. It was a cold, drizzling day, and at night it rained hard as I sat in my office. Nearly all the members of my company came in full of excitement, to inquire if I had received orders to march and were bitterly disappointed when I told them I had not. They hung around grumbling until nearly ten o'clock, gradually dropping off until there were only some half dozen left. I was telling them the Governor had promised we should have the first chance, when a tall man, in a rubber overcoat and a sou'wester hat dripping with rain came in and inquired for *Captain* Richardson. Every face turned to me, every hand pointed and every voice eagerly shouted "There he is!" He took a large official-looking paper from his pocket and handed it to me. I opened and read it. It was an order from the Governor to appear forthwith at the State House in Boston with my company for service. Holding it above my head, I shouted "Here it is, boys! Go down to Pike's stable, get a horse apiece and notify every member of the Company to be here at my office by daylight tomorrow morning." They went off with alacrity and I was left alone. I then hunted up G. Holt, a young man who had studied

with me and had just commenced practice, and taking him to my office, went rapidly through my docket, giving him the points of each case, put in his hands the papers and the key of my safe and turned over my office and business to him. . . . It was past midnight when I went home to bed but not to sleep.

Early the next day, the company, ninety-seven strong, marched to the State House and were sworn into the federal service. As was customary in the militia at that time, the officers were elected. Richardson was elected captain. The company was equipped and armed and became Company C of the Third Infantry Regiment of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia. That evening the regiment embarked on a steamer, and the next morning sailed for Fortress Monroe, Virginia, with General Benjamin F. Butler.

That political chameleon, General Butler, at the Charleston convention of the Democratic party had voted for fifty-seven ballots for the nomination of Jefferson Davis for President of the United States. He had run for governor of Massachusetts as a Breckinridge Democrat, but now he was on the road to extreme radical Republicanism, a goal which he reached as one of the managers of the impeachment proceedings against President Andrew Johnson. After that he returned to the party which nurtured him and became a Democratic Governor of Massachusetts.

At the beginning of the war Butler told President Lincoln that Republicans were the only ones volunteering and that the party would lose all its voters. So he offered to raise an army of New England Democrats to even things up. Lincoln authorized him to raise six regiments, and Butler promised to get every officer and three-quarters of the men from the Democratic party. Governor Andrew, however, saw this plan not so much as one to kill off Democrats or to ensure their loyalty to the Union but as a scheme to give a little glory to prominent Democratic politicians. Consequently he sent emissaries to the President to protest against Butler's activities. To one of these emissaries Lincoln said, "Do you mean that General Butler lies?"

"That is precisely what I mean."

Lincoln suggested that since Butler was cross-eyed "he didn't see things as other people did" and let it go at that.

To get back to Company C. At the end of three months the members were all discharged without having taken part in any fighting. All but two re-entered the army and at the end of the war twenty-one had been killed in action or had died in the service.

Before proceeding to James Richardson's subsequent army career in the Thirty-Eighth Massachusetts, it may be interesting at this point to say something about some of the other members of Company C. The average age of the enlisted men was twenty-two. They came from various walks of life. There were printers, bakers, bacon curers, teamsters, clerks, masons, confectioners, accountants, cigar makers. There was one doctor—Alfred F. Holt, who after the war became one of Cambridge's leading physicians.

Some of us may remember Solomon Busnack, a bushy-haired individual who worked as a switchman on the streetcar tracks in Harvard Square before the advent of the subway. He served with Richardson, at a later date, in the Thirty-Eighth Massachusetts and was wounded at Port Hudson.

Then of course there was John Kinnear, who died in 1928 leaving \$10,000 to the Cambridge Trust Company in trust to pay over the income "annually to the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for the purpose of having forever kept alive, preferably by a yearly banquet on April 17, the memory of Company C, Third Regiment, which company was the first in the United States to volunteer in the Civil War." The income, about \$400 a year, is duly paid over to the City of Cambridge. It is hardly enough for much of a banquet, but no doubt it is properly and appropriately spent, except for the fact that nothing is said or done very publicly to carry out the chief purpose of the trust, to forever keep alive the memory of Company C.

Probably the most colorful member of Company C was Samuel E. Chamberlain, a police officer at the time he enlisted. He was made a first lieutenant because he had served at the age of sixteen in the war with Mexico. He later became a general. He was quite an artist in water colors. Some years ago *Life* magazine published pictures he had painted of scenes in the Mexican War together with excerpts from his account of his adventures (many of which, as

I remember, involved *señoras* and *señoritas*). Later this was published in book form. The late Dr. Henry Walcott, who knew Chamberlain, says he was "a magnificent chap physically." He was the model for the statue of the soldier at the top of the Civil War monument on Cambridge Common. He had two great scars across his face which he said were sabre cuts received in the wars. There is no reason that I know of to disbelieve this, but some unkind people hinted that they may have been received in a barroom brawl in East Cambridge.

On the left-hand side of the vestibule as you enter City Hall is a bronze tablet in memory of Company C which lists the names of all its members. That no Harvard student appears on its roster is not surprising to those who know Harvard and Cambridge. Samuel Eliot Morison in his *Three Centuries of Harvard* gives a picture of apathy at Harvard during the Civil War, an apathy probably not peculiar to Harvard but more or less characteristic of many sections of the North:

A student company volunteered to guard the Cambridge Arsenal (where the Hotel Continental now stands). . . . By the fall of 1861 students began to leave the college to enlist, but not many did so. . . . It is difficult for anyone who knew Harvard in the years 1916-18 to understand the cool attitude of the College toward the Civil War. College life went on much as usual, and with scarcely diminished attendance. Public opinion in the North did not require students to take up arms as in the [First] World War; there was no mass movement into the army or navy, and draftees who hired substitutes were not despised. . . . The Harvard-Yale boat race was rowed off Worcester, before a large and enthusiastic crowd on July 29, 1864, at a time when the Union was desperately in need of men; but not one of the twelve oarsmen enlisted.

But there is another side of the picture. Morison says:

Among the graduates and undergraduates who did join the Union forces, the fatalities were proportionally three times greater than those suffered by the Harvard contingent in the World War; and of the 257 Harvard men who fought for the Southern Confederacy, one-quarter were killed or died in service.

The truth is that Harvard men, graduates and undergraduates, covered themselves with glory in the Civil War. Take Robert

Gould Shaw, colonel of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts, "who died with his 'niggers' on Wagner's red wall."* And William Francis Bartlett of Haverhill, who enlisted in June, 1861, when a junior, was wounded at Yorktown so badly that his left leg was amputated four inches above the knee, was wounded twice at Port Hudson and again in the Battle of the Wilderness, was taken prisoner at Petersburg and, while a prisoner, contracted diseases from which he never recovered. He became a major general at the age of twenty-four and died at the age of thirty-six. His statue stands in the Hall of Flags in the State House. There were many, many others of equal heroism.

In 1860 the city of Cambridge had a population of 26,000, almost the same as the city of Gloucester today. About 4,600 men went to war and of these over 400 lost their lives.

After discharge from his three months' service, James Richardson returned to what little was left of his law practice. Because of his age and because of his having once been a captain, even though for only three months, he felt he was entitled to another commission and therefore applied for one. But his application was held up, because, he said, he had found it necessary to discipline rather severely while he was captain of Company C at least two men, one of whom by the name of Brown was "the son of a prominent tobacconist" in Cambridge who had vowed to get even with Richardson for what he considered unfair treatment of his son. There is every probability that Richardson's suspicions were correct. The average volunteer did not take kindly to any discipline; in many cases company officers and noncommissioned officers had grown up together with the men they were supposed to command. Consequently the tendency was for officers to fraternize and curry favor with their men by easy-going treatment. Often neither officers nor men appreciated the importance of military discipline until they had been under fire.

Richardson seems to have been a born soldier. He was a handsome man with a commanding figure, over six feet in height. He

*Taken from "Ballads of Harvard," by Lloyd McKim Garrison, Harvard, 1888, published in the *Harvard Lampoon*, 1889.

wore a full beard in the fashion of the time. His most striking feature was a pair of piercing blue eyes. Outspoken and independent in his views, he was not interested in popularity. To do his duty as a soldier seemed to him more important than anything else, even more important than his family.

The Thirty-Eighth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers was organized in the summer of 1862, under the call of the President issued July 1 for 300,000 men to serve for three years. Richardson received a captain's commission and was asked to raise a company from Cambridge. This was Company A, raised in Cambridgeport. There were two other companies raised in Cambridge: Company B, principally in East Cambridge under command of Captain J. Henry Wyman of Cambridge, later wounded at Port Hudson, and Company F, in Cambridgeport under command of Captain Taylor P. Rundlett of Cambridge, also wounded at Port Hudson. These three companies were mobilized at Camp Day, also called Camp Cameron, in North Cambridge. North Cambridge at that time was mostly open country and farm land, and the camp was situated on the right-hand side of Massachusetts Avenue, then North Avenue, as you go north from Harvard Square. Beyond Porter Square just before one approaches the railroad tracks, Cameron Avenue goes off to the right opposite John D. Lynch's drugstore. Off Cameron Avenue run streets with names reminiscent of Civil War battles: Fair Oaks Street, Seven Pines Avenue, and Malvern Avenue. Camp Day, or Camp Cameron, was in this vicinity and probably extended as far south as Day Street. It was known as Camp Day because most of the land was owned by the Day family. Camp Cameron was probably its official name in honor of Simon Cameron, Lincoln's first Secretary of War.

The camp was so crowded that the recruits of the Cambridge companies of the Thirty-Eighth went home almost every night and reported at sunrise the next day. The regiment was finally assembled (the other companies came from Lynn, Abington, New Bedford, and various towns in Plymouth and Norfolk counties) and was sent to a camp in Baltimore where it went through a period of intensive drilling within hearing of the guns at Antietam.

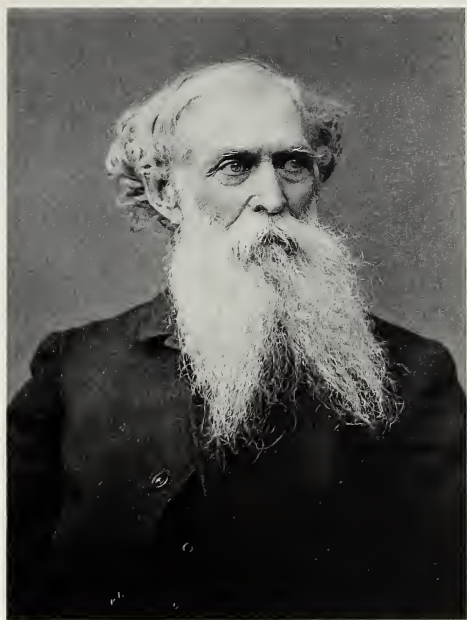
Finally it sailed for New Orleans, arriving there December 13, 1862, after waiting for a considerable time on board ship at Hampton Roads. In the meantime Captain Richardson had been promoted to major. The regiment was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel William L. Rodman of New Bedford and became a part of the Nineteenth Army Corps under command of Major General Nathaniel P. Banks, a former governor of Massachusetts. I suppose the Cambridge Bee, described by Mary Towle Palmer in a paper for the Cambridge Historical Society in 1924, still exists. It originated with a group of young girls in Old Cambridge who started knitting socks and sewing for soldiers in 1861 and called themselves the Banks Brigade in honor of General Banks.

The Thirty-Eighth Massachusetts took part in the reduction of Port Hudson, Louisiana, one of the last strongholds of the Confederacy on the Mississippi River, and in the Red River campaign. In those days colonels and even generals led their men in battle, often on horseback. Colonel Rodman was killed in action at Port Hudson May 27, 1863; James Richardson was then promoted to lieutenant colonel and commanded the regiment thereafter until the end of the war.

In the summer of 1864, the regiment, much reduced in numbers, was transferred to Virginia where it participated in Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley campaign. At the Battle of Opequan Creek, Virginia, September 19, 1864, Colonel Richardson was wounded in the shoulder by a fearsome looking bullet which is now in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Edwin R. Sparrow of Belmont. She also has Richardson's own account of his military career entitled "Memoirs of the War of the Rebellion," which is a fascinatingly lively narrative. It has never been published but ought to be. I am much indebted to Mrs. Sparrow for permitting me to make use of this and other material in the preparation of this paper.

A letter from Colonel Richardson to a friend of his in Cambridge gives a vivid picture of the battle in which he was wounded. He writes:

On the 18th of September, 1864, we were in camp near Berryville, Virginia. We had been there for two weeks and during nearly all that time it



COL. JAMES P. RICHARDSON (1821-1901) IN 1861 AND 1898

ATTENTION VOLUNTEERS

All persons desirous of joining
a **VOLUNTEER COMPANY** to protect the Union of the
United States, are invited to meet in

FRANKLIN HALL,
On FRIDAY EVENING NEXT,
AT 7 1-2 O'CLOCK.

J. P. RICHARDSON.
CAMBRIDGEPORT, January 17, 1861.

Courtesy of Mrs. Edwin R. Sparrow, Belmont

RICHARDSON'S RECRUITING BROADSIDE

The River

1. Gwyn's Landing is a built, landing place of a local *Arctostaphylos* stream, about 1800
2. Chongshan Forest, of Discovery 1944
3. Gwyn's Landing is a built, landing place of a local *Arctostaphylos* stream, about 1800
4. Gwyn's Landing is a built, landing place of a local *Arctostaphylos* stream, about 1800
5. The great bridge built on the site of the Anderson Bridge 1902
6. Dedication of Memorial Drive to the War Dead, June 14, 1925
7. The "River Drive," laid out as a Park by Charles E. Eliot, Landscape Architect, 1892
8. Original Plant Trees (Swampy) planted 1896-90

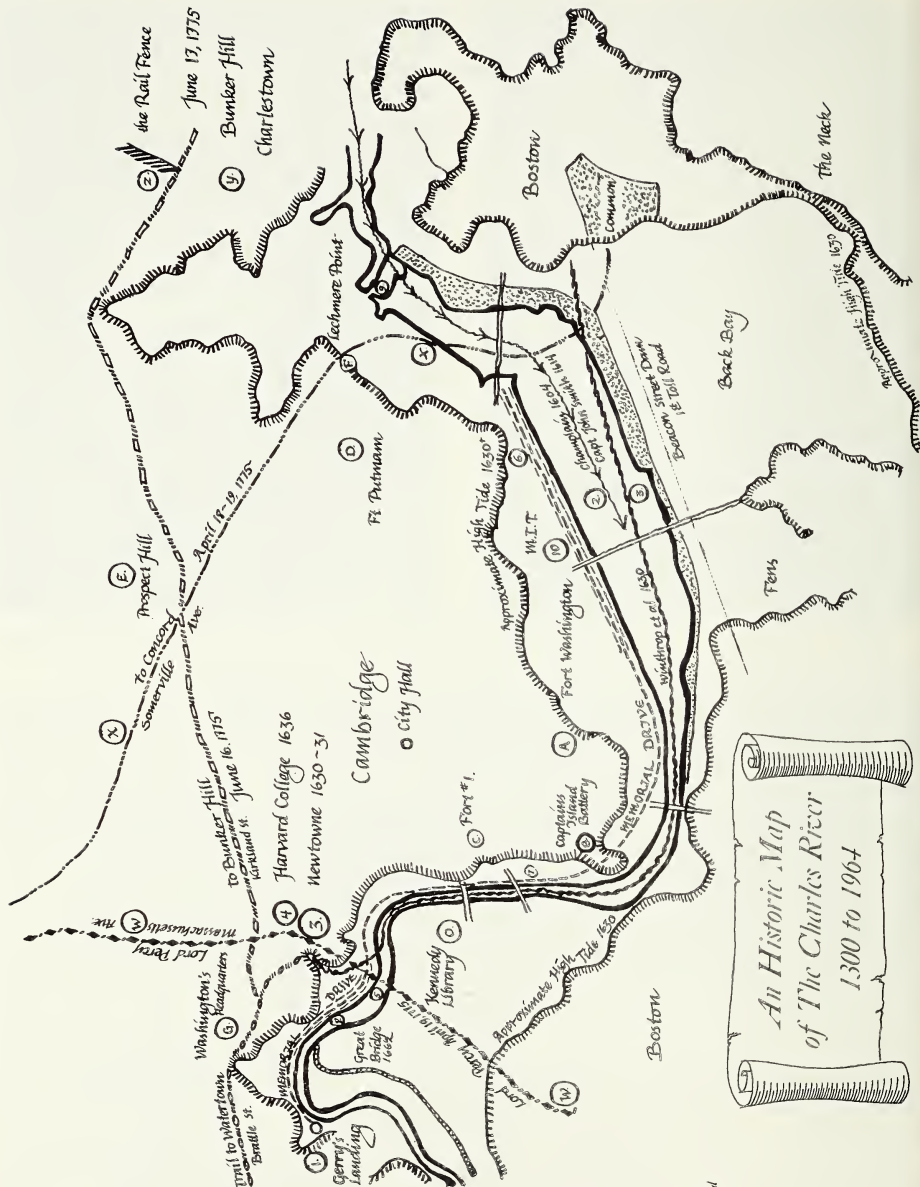
Revolutionary War Sites

- A. *Fort Washington built for the Siege of Boston 1775*
- B. *Captain's Island Battery (Magazine Beach)*
- C. *Fort Number One*
- D. *Fort Pinnum*
- E. *Prospect Hill*
- F. *"Fort de la Sca" British held, above April 1775 for the March to Concord*
- G. *Washington's Headquarters (Longfellow House, Cambridge)*

*Revolutionary War
Battles and Routes*

- W. Lord Perry's March { Battle of Concord
A. Route of the British March { and Lexington
Y. Bunker Hill { April 19, 1775
Z. Rail Fence { Battle of Bunker Hill
{ June 15, 1775

Prepared for Citizens Emergency Committee
to Save Memorial Drive from data in
Paper before Cambridge Historical Society
by Charles W. Eliot 2nd May 23. 1961



had been raining; but that did not prevent almost daily skirmishes. . . . Towards sunset the rain had stopped, and I mounted my horse and rode towards General Sheridan's Headquarters. . . . Just as I got there I saw General Grant and Sheridan come out of the tent, talking together. Grant mounted his horse and started in the direction of Harper's Ferry. . . . I immediately turned my horse and rode back to camp. The officers of my staff were standing around a fire drying their clothes. . . . I said "Well, gentlemen, you may get ready for a fight tomorrow." They asked if I had got my orders. I said "No; but General Grant has been with Little Phil today and has just left for Washington; and that means a general engagement as sure as you are born."

Within fifteen minutes one of the general staff officers rode rapidly up and handed me a written order. It said "Be prepared to move at two o'clock tomorrow morning."

At two o'clock, wet and cold, the whole army moved out on the road—toward Winchester. The weather cleared up and the sun rose clear, bright and warm. At the crossing of Opequan Creek we defiled through a narrow pass. . . . Passing through we marched to the top of a long ridge and our column deployed into line, and there stood the enemy on the opposite hill half a mile off. It was a splendid sight, the long lines of blue and gray with the sunlight sparkling on the glistening gun barrels and bayonet points.

And now . . . let me answer your . . . question as to how a man feels in a battle.

I never forgot at any stage of a battle that there was danger there; but I felt that there was a responsibility resting upon me as an officer, a reputation to sustain and a duty to perform which I had contracted for. . . . I fully recognized that I was in danger of being killed or wounded, but my feeling was that I must take my chances. As I rode along the line of my regiment I saw many pale faces, but I knew every man in that line would do his full duty, and I felt proud as I remembered that their discipline was such that no matter how much excited they became the whole would move together as directed by my voice. There never was a braver or better set of men than the rank and file of the 38th Massachusetts Volunteers.

One thing more. I have known some officers who used to brace up their courage with whiskey. I never did. I never took a drop of any intoxicating liquor while in command of my regiment. I felt the lives of all my men might depend on my judgment and I owed it to them to keep a clear head and to restrict myself in all respects as I restricted them.

Now for the battle. . . .

We found ourselves attacking a strong natural position occupied by an enemy more than ten times our number on our front, right and left, who opened upon us a tremendous fire that rapidly diminished our ranks. We

returned the fire as well as we were able while we pressed forward upon what seemed like a forlorn hope. We had our orders and no man flinched from his duty although we knew a blunder had been made. It was no longer possible to distinguish the whistle of a bullet; they came so rapidly that the noise sounded like one continuous scream punctuated by artillery like drum beats. I could not see what execution we were doing upon the enemy, though we were now close upon them, for the air was full of dust and powder smoke; but our men were dropping at every step. Their bodies lay scattered all along the line of our advance, and the gaps in our line were too big to close up. Within a few paces of the enemy the straggling line came to a stop. . . . From somewhere . . . a bugle sounded a retreat. Just at this point I felt a smart blow upon my shoulder, which I thought was hit by the musket of some falling soldier. Borne back by the tide of fugitives I thought little of it. It was the first time that the 38th had ever given way before an enemy, and I felt humiliated. I strove to restore order so as to bring them off without disgrace, but everything was wrack and confusion. About two-thirds of the way back to the foot of the slope we met the rest of our corps coming to our support. . . . Just at this moment I spied General Sheridan coming at full speed, and just behind him, just as fast, came a battery of artillery, six guns and six horses to each gun, racing for the front. . . . Close to the front they dashed, and as the teams wheeled they seemed to be inextricably mixed; but as they emerged the six guns stood in line, with their muzzles pointing toward the advancing rebels who were coming in a mad rush yelling like wild savages. . . . As the word was given "Commence firing" they opened with a crash. . . . The guns were loaded and fired so rapidly that it seemed like a continuous roar. Each discharge of canister or shrapnel tore a gap through the crowd of yelling rebels, who shrank before it, and finally broke and fled. . . . Back again to their first position they went except those . . . who would never run again. That narrow valley looked like a slaughter house. . . . Our brigade was recalled and took its place in the line. While all this was going on I had found that my clothes were full of blood and my wound had become stiff and very painful. I called to Major Allen and told him to take command of the regiment, that I could go no further. . . . I sat down on the ground to wait for a hospital ambulance. One of them soon came along filled with wounded men, but room was found for me and I was . . . taken back to the hospital of the 6th Corps which was on the hill where we first formed. There I was laid on the ground where I could overlook the battlefield.

He then describes seeing the Union line advance again, and the cavalry sent to the enemy's flank. The infantry and cavalry charged at the same time.

The enemy broke. Before that desperate charge the veterans of Stonewall Jackson gave way. Back they were driven in a confused mass. I could see their officers trying to rally them. . . . And now the cavalry men spurred their horses among the rout and I could see the rise and fall of their sabres as they gleamed in the setting sun. They were enemies and rebels, but I began to feel a pity for them. All day they had fought with nothing to eat . . . and they had fought bravely; and now tired, hungry and whipped, they were trying to escape from a vengeful enemy. . . .

Now we will go back to the field hospital. . . . When I was first taken from the ambulance I looked around and saw a row of operating tables, some 8 or 10, standing a few feet apart. Around each table were some four or five surgeons with their coats off, sleeves rolled up, with white aprons tied around their waists and plentifully splattered with blood. The grass around the tables was so full of blood that their boots splashed in it as they walked around the tables. A pile of legs and arms lay near each table and all around . . . lay men who had just been operated upon or were waiting their turn. There was hardly any part of the human body in which some one had not received a wound. . . .

The treatment of Richardson's wound when it came his turn was rapid and effective: "The bullet was found and cut out and the wound was dressed with cold water only. A stimulant of whiskey was given me and I was left to continue my observations." He recovered and returned to duty before the end of 1864.

According to Colonel Richardson, the killed, wounded, and missing in that now almost forgotten battle were 5,349 on the Union side and 6,850 Confederates.

The Thirty-Eighth returned from the war and were mustered out at Gallup's Island in Boston Harbor July 13, 1865. Seventy-five had been killed in action. One hundred and forty-nine had died of disease. Many of the wounded were still in hospital and others had been discharged. The remnant, with its faded shot-torn colors flying and with Colonel Richardson riding at the head, on the same day they were mustered out marched to Cambridge over the Craigie Bridge. According to the *Cambridge Chronicle*, it was the greatest day Cambridge had ever known: "It was an ovation wherein the whole people, the young and the old, the rich and the poor, united together to do honor to the citizen soldiers who went forth to secure the blessings of Liberty, Union and Peace to a distracted country."

On Cambridge Street a procession was formed led by the police, various military organizations, and the Cambridge Fire Department with its new steam engines. There were four brass bands. The Thirty-Eighth marched near the rear, and at the very tail end of the procession was what was described as a cavalcade, which must have been a fascinating sight. The *Chronicle* says it was "finely mounted and caparisoned—consisting of thirty-five young ladies and upwards of two hundred gentlemen."

The route of the parade was down Cambridge Street to Windsor Street, down Windsor Street to Broadway, Broadway to Prospect Street, Prospect Street to Harvard Street, Harvard Street to Quincy Street, Quincy Street to Broadway, thence to North Avenue (Massachusetts Avenue above Harvard Square), through Harvard Square, and down Main Street (Massachusetts Avenue below Harvard Square) to Columbia Street. It then marched back and down Magazine Street, where a banquet was provided under a tent and where speeches were made. Thus the Thirty-Eighth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers passed into history. Its story was written by George W. Powers, a corporal in F Company and published in 1866.

Of course there was no law practice left for Colonel Richardson. He turned again to the military life and managed to obtain a second lieutenant's commission in the regular army. He was stationed in Texas with the Seventeenth United States Infantry and was an agent for the Freedman's Bureau. Although this part of his life, as described in his memoirs, is perhaps the most interesting, it is quite outside the scope of this paper.

They were still shooting Yankees in Texas, which was one reason Mrs. Richardson and the children remained in Cambridge. It may be suspected that another reason was that she was quite out of sympathy with her husband's adventurous spirit. He never returned to live in Cambridge, although from time to time he came to Veterans' Reunions here, particularly to the reunions of the Company C Association. When, in 1870, Texas was readmitted to the Union, the Carpetbag governor appointed Richardson a judge in the state courts and he resigned his army commission. Of course when the

Democrats regained control of the state in 1876 he lost his job. He then took up the practice of law in Austin, Texas, and also conducted a real estate business. He died there in 1901. Mrs. Richardson had died before him in 1893. In the state Capitol in Austin there are said to be still in existence murals painted by Richardson.

Despite the fact that Richardson left a paper which he called "My Funeral Sermon (to be read by a friend)," in which he stated he desired that "there shall be no religious ceremonies over my body" and expressed his doubts about immortality, a funeral service was held at the Austin Street Unitarian Church in Cambridge at which a musical composition called "The Deathless Army" was sung. His three daughters attended the service. His son, then a lawyer in Chicago, did not. Richardson was buried in the Cambridge Cemetery.

An historian of the Civil War has said, "Nothing is more striking in the sources generally than the absence of gloom . . . the men did not seem to feel sorry for themselves." This is rather a sweeping statement and it can only be conjectured as to why it may be so.

Strong and vivid intimations of immortality were widespread and freely expressed. It is reliably reported that in the Battle at New Orleans Admiral Farragut shouted to the crew of the *Hartford* when fire ships drifted down upon them, "Don't flinch from the fire boys! There's a hotter fire than that for those who don't do their duty!" A lieutenant, while suffering from a mortal wound received at Spotsylvania, wrote his wife in Cambridge, "You must not worry about me if I never return again. We will meet at last in Heaven."

Intimations appear in some of the songs of the period; for example, "The Faded Coat of Blue":

I'll find you, and know you,
among the good and true,
When a robe of white is giv'n for
the faded coat of blue.

And that Southern song with a somewhat ironic twist, "Who Will Care for Mother Now?"

Soon with angels I'll be marching,
With bright laurels on my brow,
I have for my country fallen.
Who will care for Mother now?

To men like Colonel Richardson, without intimations of immortality, the great sustaining force was a sense of duty to their country. To them, *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*. Patriotism is not, as is often said, unthinking subservience to the government or worship of the state. Indeed the Southern armies, in rebellion against the government, were as fully imbued with the spirit of patriotism and love of country and homeland, as those of the North.

It was said of John H. Tucker of Cambridge, a private in Company F of the Thirty-Eighth Massachusetts, killed in action at Port Hudson: "Mr. Tucker had but recently graduated from Harvard and was preparing for the ministry at the breaking out of the war. With no taste for military pursuits, or ambition for military honors, he entered the ranks from unmixed motives of duty, bore the privations of the service with a cheerfulness which excited the admiration of all who witnessed it, and died regretted by every man in the regiment who had the privilege of his acquaintance."

In contemplating the life of James Richardson, descendant of a man who died for his country, one realizes something of the force of Lincoln's "mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land."

Now James Richardson and the Thirty-Eighth Massachusetts have long since become part of the nation's memory whose mystic chords still stretch, let us hope, in 1961, as they did in 1861, to all our hearts and hearthstones.

Read April 25, 1961



The Charles River Basin

BY CHARLES W. ELIOT 2ND

HISTORY is a kind of "Unfinished Symphony" with many interwoven themes and changing rhythms. The analogy to music is particularly appropriate to the history of a river with its changing moods, constant flow, and variety of incidents. Certainly the story of the Charles River includes all these elements, beginning with idyllic melodies of natural beauty and the steady rhythm of the tides, and then complicated by man's intervention and his uses and misuses of the river and its banks. It is an unfinished symphony because "the past is prologue" and we do not know when the climax comes, only that the music or the discords go on.

The themes which recur and come out strongly from time to time in the history of the Charles River Basin are closely related to the uses made of the river. They are not always harmonious, and since the valley has been urbanized the music has often been discordant. If I am to follow this idea any further, I suppose I should adapt Professor Woodworth's methods of introducing the Boston Symphony programs by identifying some of the themes of this history.

OPEN SPACE

The strongest unifying theme in the history of the Charles River Basin is the expanse of open space along the river's course. The open space we know today is the small remaining part of the "very broad river" which Champlain saw in 1604. He named it the River

du Guast, for his friend Sieur de Monts.¹ But we call it the Charles River because Captain John Smith of Virginia fame in seeking to curry favor with "the high and mighty Prince Charles" prepared a map of New England after his explorations in this region in 1614, and presented the map to his highness. The Prince revised many of the names on the map and put his own name on the biggest river flowing into what he called Stuart Bay. Of those changed names, only two have continued to the present day—Cape Ann and the Charles River.

In those days when the first settler in these parts was William Blaxton (or Blackstone), who lived at Shawmut in 1625, the Charles River was indeed a very broad river in its tidal section.² Instead of the present 3,634 acres of water now in the Basin, there were over 15,000 acres at that time (or over four times that area) flooded at high tide. Between the Cambridge shore (around Sidney Street) and the Boston Neck (Washington Street), the tidal estuary of the Charles River was over two miles in width.³

If either Champlain or the "Admirall of New England," as Captain John Smith called himself, had extended their explorations above the site of what is now called the Anderson Bridge, they would of course have had to revise their ideas of the breadth of the river; but even there, and up to the present Watertown Arsenal, the high tides covered wide areas of salt marshes. All of Soldiers Field (once known as the Longfellow Meadows) as well as the site of the Harvard Business School were salt marshes. On the Cambridge side the high tides came up to Eliot Street and within the memory of living men⁴ right up to Brattle Street at Mercer Circle, and of course covered all of Nichols Field and "Hell's Half Acre" (made famous by the late Bernard DeVoto).

The tides ran all the way up the river to the rapids above what is now Watertown Square, a distance by the present meandering center line of the river's course of some eight and one-half miles from

¹ Arthur B. Tourtellot, *The Charles* [The Rivers of America Series], New York, 1941, p. 14-20.

² Walter Muir Whitehill, *Boston, A Topographical History*, Cambridge, 1959, p. 3-4.

³ As shown on a map in the *Second Report* of the Boston Park Commission, published in 1876.

⁴ Charles S. Hopkinson.

the mouth to the head of tide. Technically all this length of the river constitutes the Charles River Basin. In modern times we have divided this total length into two parts: the Lower Basin (from the Charles River Dam to the Eliot Bridge) and the Upper Basin (from the Eliot Bridge upstream to the former head of tide).

It was to this area that the Puritans came in 1630 to settle first in Charlestown and then at Blaxton's invitation on the "Trimount Penninsular" which they named Boston. Blaxton was not socially inclined and sold his land to the town in 1634; the town in turn assessed every householder for the cost, and "laid out the place for a trayning field."⁵ Boston Common, the oldest public open space in America, was thus established fronting on the Charles River.

RIVER AS HIGHWAY

We shall revert repeatedly to this theme of open space in this account, but now let me introduce a second motif: the river as a highway and natural location for transportation and communication facilities. Since the river had always been a highway to the west for the Indians, it was natural that as more of the Puritans arrived from England additional settlements should have been made along the river. First there was a temporary community near Gerry's Landing which soon moved upstream under the leadership of Sir Richard Saltonstall to Watertown.

The leaders of the colony in Boston decided to establish a settlement "more easily defensible against the enemy from whom most was to fear—not the Indians, but the warships of King Charles."⁶ In the autumn of 1630, "Governor Winthrop and his Assistants . . . rowed three or four miles up the Charles River behind Boston until they came to a meadow gently sloping to the riverside, backed by rounded hills and protected by wide-spreading salt marshes. This, wrote Winthrop, seemed to all 'a fit place for a fortified town.'"⁷

⁵ N. B. Shurtleff, *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston*, Boston, 1871, p. 295-296.

⁶ Edwin M. Bacon, *Walks and Rides in the Country Round About Boston*, Boston and New York, 1897, p. 231.

⁷ Samuel Atkins Eliot, *A History of Cambridge, Massachusetts (1630-1913)*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 12.

In December an agreement was drawn up binding "all assistants . . . to build houses at a place a mile east from Watertown [i.e., Gerry's Landing] near Charles River the next spring, and to winter there the next year."⁸ Thus was "Newtowne" founded in 1631.

Within four years eighty-five dwelling houses were built and occupied.⁹ Although originally intended as the principal seat of the colony's government, the General Court held alternate sessions in "Newtowne" and Boston. When the decision was reached in 1636 to appropriate an amount equal to the entire annual income of the colony to establish a college, it was followed by a further order that the college "is ordered to be at Newtowne, and that Newtowne shall henceforth be called Cambridge."¹⁰

Newtown or Cambridge was accessible from Boston by the river and a canal along what is now Eliot Street to Brattle Square. Or a traveler could cross to Charlestown by ferry and take the ancient Indian path "from Charlestown to Watertown which coincided pretty closely with the line of Kirkland, Mason, Brattle (in front of this Society's headquarters), Elmwood, and Mount Auburn streets."¹¹ A ferry was established in 1635 at Newtown to connect with a road on the south bank of the river through Brookline and Roxbury to Boston Neck; this ferry served until "the Great Bridge" was completed on the site of the Anderson Bridge in 1662. At that time the old milestone in the Burying Ground correctly read "Eight Miles to Boston."

As population increased the use of the river as a commercial highway for travel increased also, but the construction of bridges and causeways across the marshes furnished more direct routes. The ferry to Charlestown was replaced by the Charles River Bridge, opened on Bunker Hill Day in 1786; the West Boston Bridge (on the line of the present Longfellow Bridge) opened in 1793 and cut the distance of travel between Cambridge and Boston to three and one-half miles from eight, by way of Brookline and the

⁸ From a letter from Thomas Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln.

⁹ Eliot, *Cambridge*, p. 13.

¹⁰ Same, p. 15.

¹¹ Same, p. 13.

Boston Neck. Our fellow Cantabrigian Andrew Craigie organized the Canal Street Bridge Company in 1809 and built the Craigie or Canal Street Bridge in the same year. These were all wooden-pile bridges.¹²

On the Boston side, and on the Cambridge side, after the building of [these] bridges, dealers in lumber, building stone and other bulky and heavy articles gradually took possession of the shores near the bridges and causeways, and built wharves. Further upstream an occasional wharf appeared. At one time the commercial future looked so bright that certain capitalists invested considerable sums in digging a so-called Broad Canal (and Lechmere Canal) through the flats and marshes on the Cambridge side, for the purpose of furnishing wharfage to the foreign and domestic commerce of ambitious Cambridgeport and the short-lived Middlesex Canal.¹³

"But the opening of additional bridges—even though equipped with draws—interfered with the river traffic, and the development of the railroads provided an alternative method for delivery of heavy goods. To meet this competition the coasting trade (especially the coal trade) . . . for reasons of economy began to employ large vessels, many of which draw too much water to venture within the Charles River." From these and other causes, river traffic fell off and wharves upstream were abandoned. Many of my listeners will remember, as I do, Cousen's Coal Wharf at the Cottage Farm Bridge, which was the last such enterprise using water transportation above the Longfellow Bridge.

Although abandoned as a water highway, the valley of the Charles River is a natural easy-grade route for roads, both highway and rail. The Boston and Albany, the Fitchburg, and the Watertown Branch Railroads all follow the river in some sections. Industry prefers sites with alternative means of transport, and so it often found locations which were both on the railroads and near the river. In the age of motor vehicles, the great highways like Route 128 have attracted industry to the industrial parks in Wal-

¹² Whitehill, *Boston*, p. 48–51, 78.

¹³ Charles Eliot, "First Report of the Charles River Improvement Commission," of 1891–1892, published in *Charles Eliot, Landscape Architect*, Boston and New York, 1902, p. 561.

tham, Newton, and Needham. The older highways, as for example Route 20, doubtless exercised a similar influence on developments in the Charles River valley.

Although not originally intended for speeding traffic, the "border" roads laid out with the parks along the river bank have lent themselves to free-flowing cars because at least one side is free of access. The conversion of these border roads and the construction of Storrow Drive for through traffic have inserted major barriers between the private lands and institutions on one side of the roadways and the park and river on the other side. The requirements of modern high-speed traffic have interfered or will further interfere with the park use of the river banks and with public enjoyment of the river, as roads are widened and straightened, interchanges constructed or enlarged, and new highways constructed.

MILITARY THEME

In the earlier part of our history there is another theme, already briefly alluded to, of the river as a factor in military operations. The broad estuary of the Charles River gave protection for Boston from Indian attacks on the landward side, and the narrow neck by which one made the overland approach to the peninsula could be easily defended.

The extent and shape of the Charles River estuary were significant in the events at the opening of the American Revolution. You will remember that it was "one if by land and two if by sea" by which the signals were given to Paul Revere on the night of April 18, 1775. "By land" meant that eight-mile march out Boston Neck and around to Cambridge before the British troops could get on the road to Lexington and Concord. "By sea" meant by barges from the foot of the Common across the Charles River to wade ashore through icy waters at Lechmere Point.¹⁴ The "sea" they crossed was salt water, but from the foot of Boston Common it was all of a mile wide! Poetic license?

The bays and marshes along the shores of the Charles River also

¹⁴ United States, *Interim Report of the Boston National Historic Sites Commission*, House Document No. 57, 86th Congress, 1st session, p. 34.

played a role in the Siege of Boston, with fortifications on the higher ground at Lechmere Point, Fort Washington, and where Dunster House now stands, as well, of course, as at Boston Neck.¹⁵ The broad expanse of water and the shoals and marshes along the banks between these forts were obstacles enough to any attempt at break-out from the besieged town. On June 17, 1775, the shoals and mud flats in Willis Creek and the Mill Dam in Millers River at Charlestown Neck presented such difficulties that General Gage overruled Clinton's project to cut off the Americans on Bunker Hill by a landing of British troops on Charlestown Neck; but the British were able to bring the light-draft armed transport *Symmetry* within range of the Neck to rake it with ball and chain during the battle.¹⁶

DAM AND FILL

The history of the Charles River Basin, as implied earlier, is a story of shrinking water area—a story of one dam after another cutting off areas from the estuary, with subsequent filling of portions behind the dams. The repetitive theme of dam and fill, dam and fill, as the process by which the original peninsula of Boston achieved its present shape, is developed in that gold mine of historical information, *Boston, A Topographical History*, by Walter Muir Whitehill of the Boston Athenæum.

The first of the many encroachments on the river came in 1643, Mr. Whitehill tells us, when the North Cove of Boston facing Charlestown was converted into a Mill Pond by construction of a dam on the line of the present Causeway Street at the North Station. The tidal power developed from this Mill Pond and from Mill Creek, cut through to the harbor, maintained a gristmill, a sawmill, and later a chocolate mill.¹⁷ The Mill Pond and Mill Creek also provided a route across Boston for barges and boats going to the harbor wharves, and this route was utilized when the Middlesex Canal was constructed from the Merrimack River above Lowell to

¹⁵ Samuel A. Drake, *Historic Mansions and Highways around Boston*, Boston, 1900, map.

¹⁶ Thomas J. Fleming, *Now We are Enemies*, New York, 1960, p. 131-137.

¹⁷ Whitehill, *Boston*, p. 11-12.

the Mystic and across Charlestown Neck to Millers River and the Charles River. The Mill Pond, which occupied the area between Haymarket Square and the North Station, was filled with materials from Beacon Hill between 1807 and 1820.¹⁸

Filling the salt marshes and mudflats was an obvious way to add to the real estate of Boston. When fire destroyed some of the ropewalks in 1794, the townspeople gave the flats at the foot of the Common to be filled for that use—an act of generosity which cost \$55,000 to buy the land back thirty years later.¹⁹ The fill for the ropewalks came from one of the hills on the Common. When the town bought the land back it was set aside as an addition to the Common—the Public Garden. Another section on the Charles River side of the Boston peninsula was filled by Bulfinch to extend Charles Street from Beacon Street to the West Boston Bridge in 1811.

Then followed the largest of these projects, making the Back Bay into a Mill Pond by constructing a dam on the line of Beacon Street from Charles Street all the way to Kenmore Square. The original project for tidal power in the Charles River Basin also included dams across to the Cambridge side, roughly where the Harvard Bridge is located, and dams to form mill ponds along the Cambridge waterfront. A charter for the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation was voted by the General Court in 1814 and the causeway was built to Brookline and opened as Western Avenue, the first toll road into Boston, in 1821.²⁰ Then the Back Bay was crisscrossed by other causeways and by a “dizzy bridge” carrying the Providence and Worcester railroads, and filling began again, starting along the edge of Boston Neck in the 1840’s.

A remarkable and little-known “planner” came to Boston in 1843. Robert F. Gourlay, a Scot with previous planning activities in Edinburgh and New York, produced a plan for a Charles River Basin with boulevards 200 feet wide and a railroad bordering the water.²¹ The project he recommended included subways roughly corresponding to the present Tremont Street-North Station route

¹⁸ Same, p. 79–85.

¹⁹ Same, p. 55, 98.

²⁰ Same, p. 89–94.

²¹ Same, p. 146–149.

and to the Cambridge-Dorchester tunnel under Beacon Hill. Truly a man of vision! But, as with most planners, his prophecies and plans were ignored by his contemporaries.

The filling of the Back Bay began on a major scale in 1859. By 1861 the fill extended from the Common to Clarendon Street, but ten years later had hardly reached what is now Massachusetts Avenue.²² While the Back Bay was being filled, discussion in and around Boston again turned to another and even more ambitious dam project: this time to dam the river itself. That was in 1859, and the proposal set off an investigation of the effect of such a dam on the so-called Tidal Scour in Boston Harbor. A Board of United States Commissioners on Boston Harbor in reports between 1861 and 1865 held that the tidal currents eroded the channels in the harbor, and that cutting off the tidal flows from the Charles River would cause shoaling of those channels. These findings of the United States Commissioners proved the biggest stumbling block for all proposals to dam the river until the findings of the Committee on the Charles River Dam in 1902.²³

PARK PROJECTS

As fills were made on the marshes and flats along the Boston side of the estuary, more interest was aroused in the open space aspects of the Charles River Basin. That theme in the "Unfinished Symphony" was always there as an undercurrent, but occasionally came to the surface. Thus in 1866 a bill passed the General Court for a "Seawall and Filling" (Chap. 247) for 2,000 feet southwest of Revere Street, "subject to the express condition that the flats filled under the authority hereby granted shall not be used for building purposes or for any other purpose then for ornamental grounds and a street."²⁴

In 1875 a Boston Park Commission was established and one year later recommended a series of park proposals constituting a park system for the city. An important element in this system was a nar-

²² Same, p. 151-171.

²³ Committee on Charles River Dam, *Report*, Boston, 1903, Appendix 8, p. 371 *et seq.*

²⁴ City of Boston, Department of Parks, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners for the Year 1885*, Boston, 1886, Appendix, p. 37.

row park from Canal Street (Craigie Bridge) to Essex Street (Boston University Bridge), averaging 200 feet in width and "laid out with walks, drives, saddle-paths, and boat landings, and ornamented with shrubbery and turf."²⁵ In support of this project a number of waterfront parks in Europe were cited as examples, including that "at Hamburg on the Alster"—the first reference I have found to the many later pictures and statements about the Alster Basin as the prototype for a Charles River Basin.

A second project in the proposed Boston Park System was the Fens area of the Back Bay—an area then described as "the foulest marsh and muddy flats anywhere in Massachusetts."²⁶ The Boston Park Commission called in Frederick Law Olmsted, who had successfully developed Central Park in New York, to advise them, and the landscape architect produced a plan in 1879 to transform that "foulest marsh" into a park with the high tides excluded. The construction of the Fens and Fenway from 1879 to 1889 demonstrated the possibility of recreational development of the Charles River Basin, which also was highly objectionable to noses and eyes. In fact, Mr. Olmsted's proposals included a "Charles River Embankment—Broad bay and river views with a rus-urban background seen from a stately promenade."²⁷ This project was initiated in 1883 with the "Charlesbank" between the Craigie and Longfellow bridges.

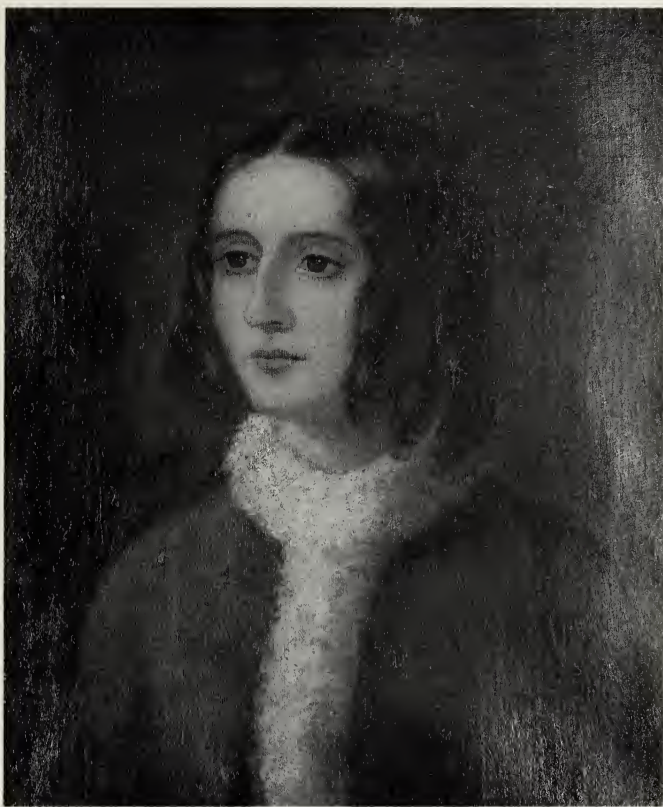
On the Cambridge side a similar project was authorized in 1887 to fill the marshes where the Massachusetts Institute of Technology now stands and to build a sea wall and parkway esplanade.²⁸ In one sense this was another "dam and fill" project for real estate development, but the Cambridge promoters in this case had the vision to

²⁵ City of Boston, Department of Parks, *Second Report of the Board of Commissioners . . . 1876* [City Document, No. 42], Boston, 1876, p. 16.

²⁶ E. W. Howe in *Proceedings of the Bostonian Society*, 1938, p. 34–35, quoted in Whitehill, *Boston*, p. 180.

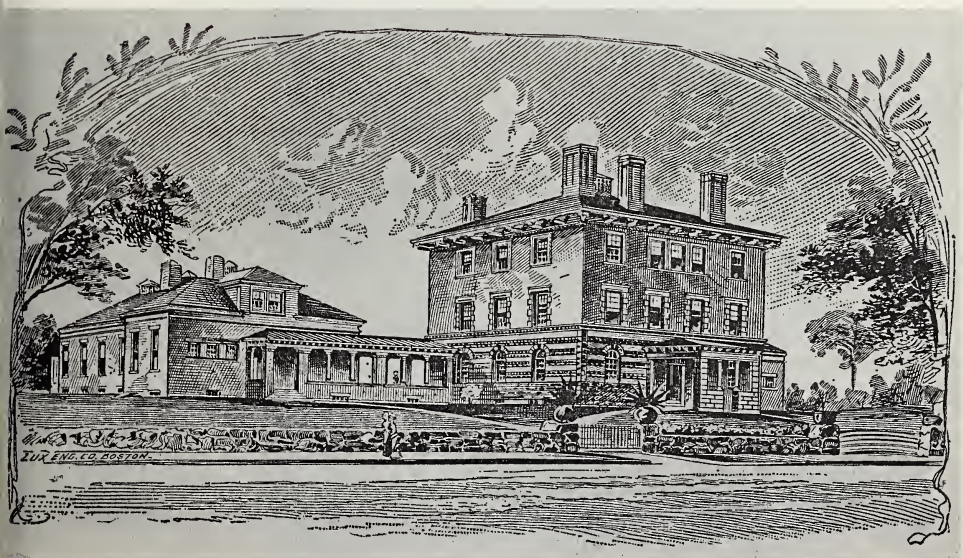
²⁷ City of Boston, Department of Parks, *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Commissioners . . . 1879* [City Document, No. 15], Boston, 1880. Charles W. Eliot 2nd, "The Boston Park System," Boston Tercentenary Committee, Subcommittee on Memorial History, *Fifty Years of Boston, A Memorial Volume*, Boston, 1932, p. 657–671.

²⁸ Cambridge Esplanade, initiated by a private group, was completed by the Cambridge Park Commission in 1897–1898.



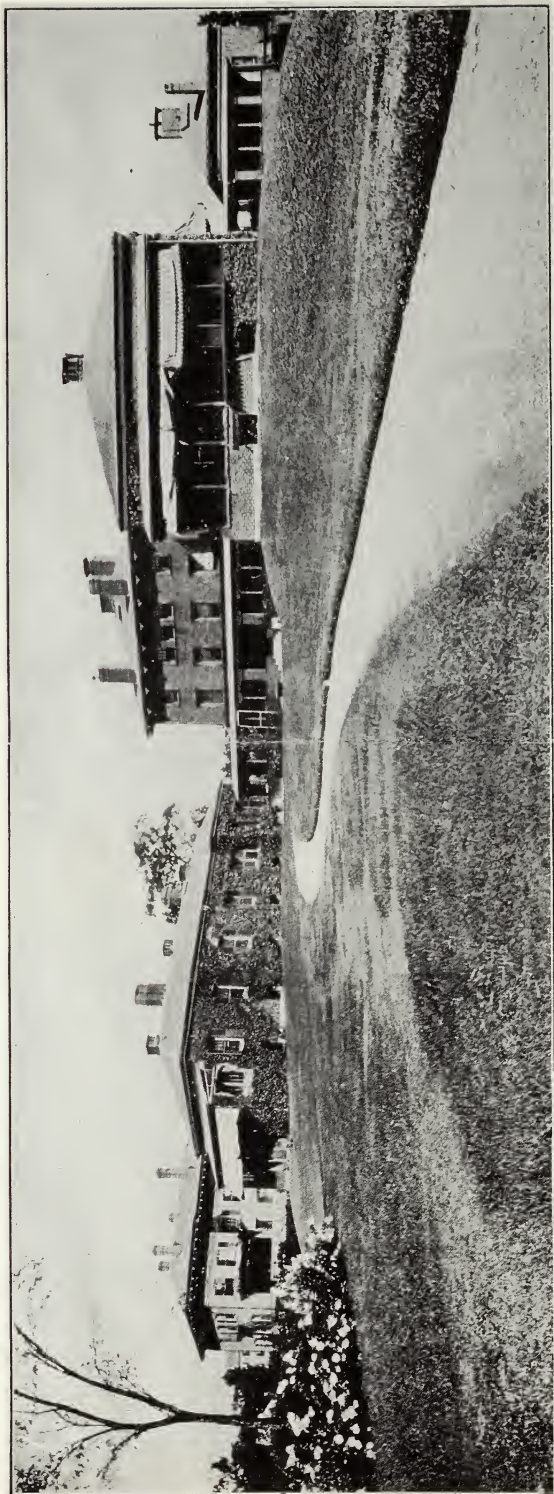
Courtesy of the Mount Auburn Hospital

MISS EMILY ELIZABETH PARSONS (1824-1880)



Published in the Annual Reports

THE CAMBRIDGE HOSPITAL (LATER MOUNT AUBURN HOSPITAL)
AROUND 1890



Nurses' Home

Men's Ward

Administration Building

Women's Ward

Operating Building

THE CAMBRIDGE HOSPITAL IN 1906

Published in the Annual Reports

include in their project a road parkway along the river 200 feet wide. It started a movement for the recreational use of the whole stretch of the Cambridge river bank.

POLLUTION AND HEALTH

From time immemorial rivers have been used for disposal of wastes. The Charles River was and is no exception. The sewers of earlier times emptied directly into the river, and some still do. Industrial wastes from the factories along the river were disposed of in the same manner. Much of the fill of low lands along the banks has been trash. In spite of the huge investment in marginal and trunk sewers and the efforts of the Massachusetts Department of Public Health and the Metropolitan District Commission, the river is even now so polluted that bathing is prohibited in all but a short part of its course within the Metropolitan District.

The policies of the Massachusetts Department of Public Health in regard to pollution of rivers follow those in other states: that it is natural and proper to use rivers for disposal of wastes up to some degree of pollution which is compatible with the uses of the water and the river banks. It is all a matter of degree, and of the kinds of wastes involved. Industrial wastes no longer present the major problem in the Charles River, except perhaps in the new field of "Thermo-Pollution," involving the use of river waters for cooling. Raising the temperature of the water by recirculating it through a plant changes the oxygen content of the water, with death to trout at eighty degrees and the encouragement of algae and other growth. Regulations which the Metropolitan District Commission is authorized to make for controlling the use of river water used in cooling are always difficult to administer and enforce, particularly when the chief user is a public utility (Cambridge Electric Light Company) upon which the public depends for its electricity.

The pollution in the river today is due largely to the overflow of raw sewage from the incompletd trunk lines (which the Metropolitan District Commission has been requesting the necessary funds to complete) and from overloaded sewers in Waltham, Watertown, Cambridge, and Boston. With almost every rain, the overflow can

be seen at several outlets along the Cambridge bank. The plans to care for this overflow in additional trunk sewers have been prepared, but the funds to build them have not yet been forthcoming.

The sanitary conditions of the Charles River Basin were very much worse than those we know today when the park development of the Fens was undertaken and the project for a dam at Craigie Bridge was urged over seventy years ago. The necessity to act on health grounds was a potent argument for the dam and park project, particularly when added to the argument for open space.

PARK DEVELOPMENT

"Open space is needed," Charles Eliot wrote in 1894; "nowhere west of the State House can so much well-distributed space be had for so little money as on the banks of the Charles."²⁹ "Many a crowded city would give much for such an air space: and there can be no doubt that our community will come to value it at its full worth."³⁰ The several commissions for the "Improvement of the Charles River" beginning in 1891 developed these themes with constant emphasis on the problems of pollution and ugly mud flats and on the possibilities of park development, with a dam to hold the water in the basin above low tide and below high tide levels.

In 1892 the Cambridge Park Commissioners (Messrs. Henry D. Yerxa, Jonathan O'Brian, and George Howland Cox) employed Charles Eliot to make plans for a Cambridge park system. As one might expect, his proposals featured a parkway (Memorial Drive) and the reservation of the whole of the Cambridge river bank for park purposes. Incidentally, those first plans show the Eliot Bridge as a connecting link between parkways on the Boston side and a park around Fresh Pond.³¹

At the same time that Charles Eliot was working on the Cambridge park plans, he was urging the organization of a Metropolitan Park Commission and writing the famous report on park opportu-

²⁹ *Report of the Joint Board Consisting of the Metropolitan Park Commission and the State Board of Health upon the Improvement of Charles River from the Waltham Line to the Charles River Bridge, April, 1894*, Boston, 1894.

³⁰ Charles Eliot, *Landscape Architect*, p. 567-568.

³¹ *Report of the Cambridge Park Commissioners for the Year 1894*, p. 99-107.

ities around Boston.³² It was largely due to his persuasive leadership that the Metropolitan Park Commission was established in 1893.

The new Commission joined with the Massachusetts Department of Health in two reports, also written by Charles Eliot, of a Joint Board on the Charles River, which pressed the campaign for a dam to hold the water in the Basin at "grade 8"—above the flats but below the salt marshes. Meanwhile a central feature of the plan for metropolitan parks, formulated in 1892 and authorized in 1893, was the recreational development of the Charles River at least as far upstream as Dedham. In order to carry out these plans, Boston prepared a variety of schemes for extension of the Charlesbank, and Cambridge pressed the work of acquiring the river front and building the "river drive." The Metropolitan Park Commission acquired properties on the river banks with special bond issues up to and including Hemlock Gorge.

The ten-year fight over whether and where to dam the Charles River was finally decided in 1903 and the Charles River Dam, the marginal sewer conduits, and the Boston Embankment (to Charlesgate) were completed in 1910.³³ The embankment was widened, extended, and embellished after 1931 through the generosity of Mrs. James T. Storrow; and in the 1950's Storrow Drive was constructed, cutting off the park from the city it was intended to serve. Emphasis on automobile traffic has replaced concern for the restful enjoyment of the park lands along the river from the dam to the Eliot Bridge on the Cambridge side and to Watertown on the south side.

The completion of the Charles River Dam in 1910 opened a new era of recreational boating on the Charles River Basin. The dreams and hopes of those who advocated the dam to hold the Basin level above low tide in order to encourage this recreational use have been more than fulfilled. The number of shells, canoes, sailboats, and motorboats of all kinds has increased enormously in recent years, with the inevitable problems of conflicts in use, adequacy of facilities, and procedures for regulation.

³² *Report of the Metropolitan Park Commission*, 1893.

³³ *Report of the Committee on the Charles River Dam*, 1903.

DANGER OF ENCROACHMENTS

One might have thought that the huge success and fame of the Charles River Basin as an open space and recreation area would have stopped further efforts to fill or block off portions of it for other uses, but such is not the case. Three years ago a bill to permit development of an "Industrial Park" in the Basin was defeated after only the most strenuous efforts, and a similar project for apartment houses out in front of Massachusetts Institute of Technology was again before the General Court in 1959. Today, long fills are proposed on the Boston side above Boston University Bridge for the Toll Road Extension. The park use of the Captains Island area on the Cambridge side will be disrupted by the clover-leaf road connections between the Inner Belt and the Toll Road Extension. Boston University is trying to get a part of the land along Storrow Drive for its building project.

DRAINAGE AND FLOODS

In contrast to these problems of continued encroachments on the park lands around the Basin, another "theme" or influence in our story holds out hopes for expansion of the Basin. This other theme is the use of the river for the main purpose of all rivers, namely drainage.

Floods are a serious problem in the 298 square miles drained by the Charles River. Encroachment on the natural flood plain, on the natural reservoirs of swamps, and on the salt marshes by fill and buildings is one cause of increased flood hazard. Another is the inevitable consequence of intensive urban development where hard surfaces of roofs and pavements prevent infiltration and greatly increase the speed of the runoff.

The Metropolitan District Commission has begun flood control works and channel improvements in a section of the river in Dedham, Needham, Newton, and Wellesley, and a bill (House 1073) now pending in the General Court would provide funds for further work inside the Metropolitan District. The capacity of the Charles River Basin to take care of flood waters has been reduced by the

filling of areas below high tide. Since the dam was completed the fill for the Storrow Embankment has encroached on the Basin and more of the tidelands in the Boston and Maine Railroad terminal yards have been brought above high-tide levels.

The hurricanes of 1954-1955 and several concentrated storms of later years demonstrated the very real danger of serious flood damage to lands and structures near the Charles River Basin. If these floods had occurred in a period of high tide, when no water could leave the Basin, the losses would have been very serious indeed. This situation caused the Metropolitan District Commission to begin a series of surveys and studies (Chap. 646, Acts of 1957) by Charles A. Maguire and Associates and Edson T. Killam Associates, Inc., which have resulted in voluminous reports, and in proposals for projects estimated to cost millions of dollars.

The latest of these recommendations, March 30, 1960, proposes a new dam at the Warren Street Bridge below the North Station equipped with a battery of huge pumps, a series of locks, and a roadway across the top. The cost estimates run from seven to ten million dollars. Such a dam would add the river section between it and the present dam to the Basin, and require extension of the marginal sewers and new designs for treatment of the river banks.

These studies and plans of Maguire and Killam for the "Charles River Basin Elevation Control Project" present convincing arguments for construction of this new dam. If this solution of the flood control problem is adopted, new opportunities for higher use of the water area and lands near the river in this section will be opened up. As they say in their summary (Report No. 2, December 1959): "Development of the land in the area between the [present] Dam and Warren Bridge would be relatively easy and very desirable. With the Basin extended to Warren Bridge, the development of this area could be of quality similar to that along the existing Charles River Basin shores above the Dam." A study of that area has been launched by a joint committee from the many governmental agencies involved. So the next "movement" of the "Unfinished Symphony" is being prepared.

The chief responsibility for the Charles River Basin has been

placed by the Great and General Court in the hands of the Metropolitan District Commission. The chairman of that Commission, Mr. Robert F. Murphy, is therefore in the position of conductor of the orchestra—or rather of the many dissident elements participating in the “Unfinished Symphony.” He needs the understanding and help of people like the members of the Cambridge Historical Society to create the harmony and to bring the music of the “Unfinished Symphony” to a climax.

Read May 23, 1961



The Founding of The Mount Auburn Hospital

By JAMES B. AMES

THE TITLE of my paper tonight is "The Founding of the Mount Auburn Hospital." I had thought originally I might try to do the whole history of the Hospital from its founding down to the present day. When I got into it, there seemed to be too much to cover in a single evening, and so the later period will have to wait for another occasion, or better still, another historian.

There is, however, one bit from the later story that I do want to mention. In 1939, the old main building of the Hospital was remodeled and redecorated under the direction of Miss Lois Lilley Howe, now the Honorary Vice-President of this Society. And the record shows that at their meeting in September of that year, the trustees voted "that a letter be sent to Miss Howe in appreciation of the time and work that she has given for the redecoration of the first floor of the Administration Building, which has resulted in such a happy improvement."

To get back to the founding. On February 13, 1871, William Claflin, Governor of Massachusetts, signed his approval of the special act of the legislature incorporating the Cambridge Hospital, later to be known as the Mount Auburn Hospital. By the terms of the charter, the corporation was established, and has been continued ever since, "for the purpose of maintaining a Hospital in the City of Cambridge for sick and disabled persons."

There were seven incorporators, all leading citizens of Cambridge ninety years ago: the Honorable Isaac Livermore, head of the group, merchant, railroad executive, state senator, and former

president of the Cambridge City Council (it was at his house in Cambridgeport that the first meeting of the incorporators was held); the Reverend Sumner R. Mason, of the Central Square Baptist Church; Dr. William W. Wellington, noted Cambridgeport physician and long-time member of the Cambridge School Committee, for whom the Wellington School was named; Benjamin Tilton, also of Cambridgeport, head of the bank that later became the Harvard Trust Company; the Reverend Alexander McKenzie, of the Shepard Congregational Church; the Reverend Kinsley Twining, of the Prospect Street Congregational Church; finally, and the youngest, Dr. Henry Pickering Walcott, later chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Health, member of the Harvard Corporation, and president of the Massachusetts General Hospital, as well as president for many years of the Mount Auburn Hospital.

These were the official founders; their names are written in the charter, and their part was a vital one. But the moving spirit—the one who brought these men together—who had been working for six years to this end, was a remarkable woman, Miss Emily Elizabeth Parsons. Miss Parsons—granddaughter of Theophilus Parsons (1750–1813), chief justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, and daughter of Professor Theophilus Parsons (1797–1882) of the Harvard Law School—had suffered in her youth from various illnesses and accidents, so that her hearing and eyesight were impaired and she was permanently lame, yet she was still a charming woman.

Despite her handicaps, perhaps because of them, she determined when the Civil War broke out to enlist as a nurse. Women nurses were rare in this country, but Florence Nightingale had set an example; there was a ferment stirring in the lives of women and in the history of medicine. She consulted her father's friend, Dr. Morrill Wyman, on how she could acquire the necessary training. Through Dr. Wyman's influence with Dr. Shaw, superintendent of the Massachusetts General Hospital, she was permitted to take a special course of instruction there before leaving for a two-year tour of duty with the army.

Miss Parsons' character is well illustrated by her letters of this

period. Thus, from the Army Hospital at Fort Schuyler, New York, in November, 1862, shortly after Antietam, one of the bloodiest battles of the war:

Early in the week I had a new patient, a young man who had a reamputation of the arm performed on Sunday. . . .

I am the only nurse in the ward, so that when the surgeon was not in, the case fell on me. I allowed no one else to touch his bed or his food; the surgeon sometimes pours out his porter, but it is handed me to give. He is doing well now, though great care is necessary; I am writing near his bed. They will not let me work day and night both, so at ten I am ordered off to bed. I have been fighting the weather lately. The *snow* came in at the open slats on the roof, and we were nearly frozen, and wet into the bargain. I grew desperate, and when the ward-master came in, insisted upon something being done. I got possession of a ladder, one of my men mounted up, tied slats together, and wound up by nailing one of my sheets, torn in strips, over crevices that could be stopped in no other way; we finally got ahead of the deluge, and I commenced drying bed clothes by instalments round the stoves; by half-past-nine, evening, they were mostly dry, and the floor of the ward drying also. I went about all day in my water-proof cloak, hood over my head; I wear my india-rubber shoes all the time to help keep my poor feet warm. We are not warm, for there are so many cracks in these unfinished buildings that a regiment of stoves could hardly make them really warm. I only wish the contractor had been here the other day; I would have put him under the biggest hole. . . .

I am within two yards of a stove and am cold; one of the surgeons agreed with me to-day that we would never, never go to the North Pole.

From New York, she was sent to St. Louis where she was given larger responsibilities. During the siege of Vicksburg, she was assigned as head nurse on a hospital steamer and went down river from St. Louis to the battle area in Mississippi, where some four hundred wounded were taken on board and carried back to hospitals in Memphis. Returning to St. Louis, she became ill with malaria, but soon recovered sufficiently to take on the duties of head nurse at another hospital there. Here were often as many as two thousand wounded men. According to a contemporary account:

It was the duty of the nurses to . . . minister to the wants of the patients, and to give them words of good cheer, both by reading and conversation—softening the rougher treatment and manners of the male nurses by their

presence, and performing the more delicate offices of kindness that are natural to women.

In this important and useful service these nurses, many of them having but little experience, needed one of their own number of superior knowledge, judgment, and experience, to supervise their work. . . . For this position Miss Parsons was most admirably fitted, and discharged its duties with great fidelity and success for many months.

When the war was over, Miss Parsons became interested in the need for a hospital here in Cambridge, and devoted the next six years of her life toward filling this need. In the 1871 report of the newly organized Hospital corporation, she tells at some length why she undertook the project and how she worked to carry it out:

From the time of the first settlement of Cambridge until the year 1865, there was no Hospital for this city, unless the Almshouse can be called such. There has been for a long time a growing need of such an institution. The hospitals of Boston had not room for . . . the sick poor of Cambridge. Nor was it right that, with our means and advantages, we should be dependent upon another city for the care of our own citizens. It therefore seemed necessary that we should have a suitable Hospital of our own. . . .

In the fall of 1865, a number of the citizens of Cambridge made me donations for the purpose of commencing such an institution. The next step was to procure a house. I did not succeed in finding one I could have until the spring of 1867. I then rented for one year a small house, which I opened as a Hospital in May. . . . I had not sufficient means to carry it through one year; but I had faith that all needful wants would be supplied. . . .

I was obliged to suspend at the end of the first year, the owner wishing to make another disposition of the house. . . .

In December, 1869, I reopened the Hospital on Prospect Street, in a convenient house on the corner of Prospect and Hampshire Streets. . . . During these two years we have received one hundred and twenty-two patients—forty the first year, eighty-two the second—many of them very serious cases, and several of long duration. . . . We have also treated a number of out-patients in the Dispensary. The patients are mostly persons of small means, or in very moderate circumstances—hardworking, industrious women, who earn their own support, and, when they have families, supplying either wholly or in part their needs also; but, when sick or disabled, they can neither support themselves, nor be properly cared for in their homes.

. . .

The surgical and medical treatment has been under the daily direction of Dr. Charles E. Vaughan and Dr. J. T. G. Nichols, who have visited the

Hospital in alternate months since its commencement, giving us their invaluable aid most generously and kindly; thus granting freely to the poorest patient all the skill the richest could provide.

In the first year of our work, Dr. S. Cabot of Boston, very kindly gave us his valuable advice. Since then, Dr. Richard M. Hodges, of Boston, has several times assisted as consulting and operating surgeon. We are much indebted to Dr. M. Wyman for his advice and assistance, and also to Dr. C. Bullock for very valuable dental services. Other physicians, also have most generously offered their aid

The trustees of the new corporation took over from Miss Parsons the responsibility of running the Hospital at the Prospect Street location, while she continued to serve as matron-in-charge. This arrangement continued for a little over a year, until May, 1872, when the trustees to their regret were forced to close the doors for lack of funds. Officially notifying Miss Parsons of this decision, they wrote her that:

In their judgment, the Hospital, during its brief existence, has done great good in restoring the health, or adding to the comfort of many, who without its benefits, might have suffered from poverty or neglect. They feel that whatever good has been done is mainly owing to your self-sacrificing labors and untiring devotion; they honor alike your *faith* and your *works*. They deeply regret the necessity, which compels them to close the doors of the Hospital, and thus to deprive the City, for a time at least, of the benefit of your self-imposed work of philanthropy and charity.

For the next fourteen years the Hospital existed as a paper organization only, with no buildings or patients. Meanwhile Miss Parsons died in 1880, at the age of fifty-six. Shortly before her death, her father had the pleasure of reading to her a paragraph from the *Boston Daily Advertiser* to the effect that efforts were soon to be made to increase the funds of the Cambridge Hospital, "originally instituted by Miss Emily E. Parsons," in order to place it upon a permanent foundation.

One organization formed by Miss Parsons and her friends and later dedicated to her memory deserves mention here: the Basket Club, a group of ladies who did sewing for the sick and called themselves the Basket Club from "an itinerant basket intended as

a receptacle for their handiwork." One of the original members described its beginning:

Early in the winter of 1873 the thought occurred to one of our philanthropic ladies that there might still be industrial talent unappropriated by the numerous clubs of Cambridge, which if concentrated upon one object might accomplish much. As the establishment of a Hospital had been a work to which Miss Parsons had devoted much time and strength and which we all hope will be ere long successfully accomplished, what better field of labor for willing hands could present itself than the furnishing and adorning of apartments for the sick and homeless?

The first meeting of the Club was held in February, 1873, at the home of Miss Parsons' mother. The other ladies present, some of whose names will be familiar to you, were Miss K. Parsons, Mrs. C. F. Dunbar, Mrs. Sarah Swan, Miss A. Needham, Mrs. John Ware, Mrs. E. Abbot, Mrs. John Wells, Mrs. C. C. Everett, Miss C. C. Taggard, and Mrs. F. Perrin. And here is an account of a later meeting on October 21, 1891:

The Basket Club met for the first time this season at Mrs. Swan's. The ladies sewed upon nightgowns for the hospital. They decided to read, instead of miscellaneous articles, some continuous work and named the memoirs of Miss Emily Parsons, whose sympathies were ever enlisted in the cause of the sick and suffering, and who was so unselfish and indefatigable in her efforts to establish a hospital in Cambridge.

The Basket Club is still in existence. At the February meeting of the Hospital Trustees in 1948, the gentlemen present were touched, and very pleased, to receive a check for \$214 as a donation from the Basket Club, with a note explaining that it came from the members of that group "on the occasion of their 75th anniversary, to be used for the purchase of a photorimeter in memory of Emily Elizabeth Parsons and the members of the Basket Club who worked with her."

After Miss Parsons' death, efforts to raise money for a hospital building were redoubled. Mr. Isaac Fay left \$10,000 by will for this purpose. In December, 1881, a group of Cambridge ladies held a large and very successful fair for the building fund, bringing in over \$12,000. At a meeting in the vestry of the Cambridge Baptist

Church in 1885, the Women's Aid Association of the Hospital was organized—Mrs. Morrill Wyman was the first president—and with the co-operation of the churches throughout the city raised substantial additional funds towards the cost of furnishing the new Hospital.

In 1883 the land on which the Hospital now stands was finally purchased. The erection of the first building was begun in 1884 and completed two years later. Mr. Willard A. Bullard, the president of the Harvard Trust Company, who was for forty-one years the treasurer of the Hospital, reported in 1888 that the total cost of land and building was little more than \$77,000—\$17,000 for the land and \$60,000 for the building.

Dr. Morrill Wyman, who served both on the Harvard Board of Overseers and as a member of the Cambridge School Committee, had become president of the Hospital in 1874, succeeding the first president, Isaac Livermore. When the new Hospital building, now the old center building, was dedicated on April 29, 1886, Dr. Wyman gave the dedication address. In it, he told how the site had been chosen:

Various sites were examined. Among others the high grounds to the north. They command an extensive prospect, are well exposed to the sun and air, but, on the other hand, the soil is of clay, cold and damp, and difficult to drain. The vicinity of Fresh Pond, with its beautiful groves, has many attractions, but the Hospital must either be built just on the borders of the pond, which would be objectionable, or an open space secured sufficient for light and air, and to prevent encroachment, which, on a level plain, would require an outlay not thought advisable. Captain's Island, a singular geological formation in Cambridgeport, was favorably viewed on account of its water front, its somewhat secluded position, and the character of its soil, but it proved liable to be much disturbed, day and night, by unavoidable noise from the railroad junction, on the opposite bank of the river. This noise is almost sure to increase; besides there is the danger of objectionable buildings in its vicinity.

This place, where we now are, is believed to be far superior to any other that was examined. It contains nine and one-third acres. The soil is dry, gravelly and sandy. The surface upon which the buildings stand is about 25 feet above the level of the river, and sufficiently distant from its bank. It is well raised above the crown of Mt. Auburn Street. It has a water front of 500

feet. On the opposite side of the river is a park or meadow of 70 acres given by Prof. Longfellow and others to Harvard College "to be held by the grantees as marshes, meadows, gardens, public walks, or ornamental grounds, or as the site of college buildings not inconsistent with these uses." Facing the south, the wards have the full influence of the sun and a free course for the very desirable southwestern breezes of summer. The river front effectually prevents all dust from that quarter.

Dr. Wyman also referred to the historic nature of the Hospital site, constituting as it did a part of the original sixteen-acre grant to Sir Richard Saltonstall, who founded the early settlement of Watertown in 1630 on this very spot.

When the Hospital was built, it was still the custom for those who could afford private medical care to be taken care of in their homes; babies were born at home, and even major surgical operations were regularly performed in private houses. Hospitals were still mainly for the poor. In his address, Dr. Wyman thus described the purpose the new Hospital was expected to serve in the community:

Here may come the sick man from the small attic room, or worse, from the damp, ill-warmed, ill-lighted and ill-ventilated cellar, one who can fairly enough support life while in health, but when prostrated by disease is without the aids and comforts, the quiet and kind judicious nursing under good medical advice from which, alone, he can reasonably hope for recovery. Here may come the journeyman mechanic, young, industrious and frugal, who can pay the ordinary charges for board but who has not, as yet, the means for the extra expenses of sickness; anxious for the future; sickness, perhaps, developed under this anxiety and yet with a self-respect that would lead him to pay reasonably for his own maintenance. Female domestics sick in the families of the affluent may receive the care of those with whom they live, but such care must be given with so much inconvenience that they would gladly place them here at their own expense, where they can have during their sickness what they can hardly obtain in a private family. A young girl, the only servant in a large family, falls sick. She is in a remote room without fire. The mistress of the family, absorbed in her manifold duties, can give her but irregular and insufficient care, or perhaps she is cared for only by friends at service, who can ill be spared by those whom they serve.

The building completed in 1886 is still in use today. It consisted

of the two one-story wings known as Wards A and B, one for men and the other for women, and the old center building. There were no electrostatic air filters or ceiling TV, but the building was carefully designed by the architect, William Everett Chamberlain, and solidly built. Dr. Wyman himself took a great interest in the design and operation of the highly elaborate heating and ventilation system. In a later annual report, he described the system in part as follows:

Beneath each bed is a ventilating opening of fifty square inches area which connects just beneath the floor with a foul-air duct leading to the main ventilating chimney in the centre. . . . Through each of the openings beneath the beds about two thousand cubic feet of air is drawn each hour, as shown by the air-metre [made by Casella, of London, a present to the hospital by Mr. Edward W. Hooper], and through the sixteen openings in forty minutes an amount is drawn equal to the cubic contents of the ward.

There was also an ingenious arrangement for ventilating the beds themselves through pipes leading from within the bed to the air trunk under the floor.

On May 21, 1886, three weeks after the hospital opening, the Trustees' Visiting Committee "visited the wards and the laundry and found all in cleanly condition and well ventilated; fire still kept up under the boilers." On June 4, they reported "all things in good order. No fire under boiler, the weather having been mild." On June 25, the Committee was more critical: "The house generally needs screens for the doors and windows. Flies abound." But in July this was remedied and the Committee "were pleased to find V. R. Chamberlain and men putting in fly screens in all the windows."

The winter of 1886-87 was a cold one, but the heating system was apparently equal to the occasion. On January 8, Dr. Wyman reported for himself and Dr. Walcott as members of the Visiting Committee: "The Hospital visited this day by the undersigned. . . . Thermom[eter] at 5 A.M. this day at 5° below zero. Temperature in West Ward 75°; in East Ward 70°. The air in both in good condition. Fire lighted in the fire places of both wards; the north boiler alone in use. . . . Number of patients 16. During the week, 3 discharged and 4 admitted."

By 1888 the medical staff of the Hospital had been organized on the basis of eight visiting medical men and two younger house officers. In those days, no distinction was as yet drawn between physicians and surgeons, and all eight members of the visiting staff were listed simply as "physicians." The first two men assigned to duty as visiting staff physicians were Dr. John T. G. Nichols and Dr. Edmund H. Stevens. Until 1903 Dr. Nichols, who had worked in the early years with Miss Parsons, was in fact though not in title the head of the medical service at the Hospital. Dr. Stevens, another unusually distinguished figure, soon developed a special interest in surgery and became the ranking surgeon on the visiting staff until his retirement in 1911. His son, the much-beloved and respected Dr. Horace P. Stevens, was later to follow in his father's footsteps as head of the Hospital's surgical service, while Dr. Nichols' son, Mr. J. T. G. Nichols, became for many years head of the Finance Committee of the Trustees of the Hospital and also Treasurer of this Society. When the new surgical building, now a part of the laboratory, was opened in 1898, Dr. Stevens had the honor of performing the first operation, with his friend Dr. Nichols assisting.

The others of the original visiting staff group were Dr. Charles E. Vaughan, who had worked earlier with Miss Parsons; Dr. John L. Hildreth, who was to become Professor of Medicine at Tufts; Dr. Stephen W. Driver, whose office was on Farwell Place; Dr. James A. Dow, father of Mr. George L. Dow, an active member of the Board of Trustees from 1928 to 1953; Dr. Walter Ela, who bequeathed half the residue of his estate to the Hospital; and Dr. Frederick W. Taylor.

For many years, it was the rule that no doctor should undertake a major operation at the Hospital until all eight members of the Visiting Staff had been notified and given the opportunity to attend.

There was also a senior medical staff or Board of Consultation, on which Dr. Wyman, Dr. Wellington, and Dr. Walcott served in addition to their duties as members of the Board of Trustees. Dr. Walcott in 1892 took Dr. Wyman's place as president of the Hospital and served for twenty-five years in that capacity until his



"BAY OF NAPLES" WALLPAPER IN THE EMERSON OR LEE-NICHOLS
HOUSE, 159 BRATTLE STREET, CAMBRIDGE



“BAY OF NAPLES” WALLPAPER IN THE EMERSON OR LEE-NICHOLS
HOUSE, 159 BRATTLE STREET, CAMBRIDGE

retirement in 1917. His son was Judge Robert Walcott, president and chairman of the Trustees of the Hospital from 1933 to 1952.

The original house officers in 1888 were Dr. F. A. Dunbar and Dr. W. D. Swan. This was the beginning of Dr. Swan's long connection with the Hospital. He served successively thereafter on the Visiting Staff, on the Board of Consultation, on the Board of Trustees, and finally as president of the Hospital from 1917 to 1933, when he was succeeded by Judge Walcott.

Many years have passed since Dr. Wyman used to drive out by horse and buggy from his farm on Sparks Street to make house calls on his patients, swinging by the new Hospital on his way home to check up on how the famous ventilation system was working and perhaps dropping in to offer advice to Dr. Stevens on an operation being performed in the old center building. Times have changed, but the Hospital goes on, still animated, one likes to think, by the spirit of Emily Parsons "and those who worked with her." As she herself put it in her report on the operation of the old hospital building on Prospect Street:

This is a good work that has come upon us—caring for the sick and disabled . . . helping them not only in body, but sometimes, also, receiving the great privilege of helping them in a higher way, and one that will be a help in the great future which is coming to us all.

Read October 24, 1961

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The History and Restoration of the Wallpaper in the Emerson House in Cambridge

BY WILLIAM J. YOUNG

IT is understandable that for the first half century after the colonists came to America they were so absorbed with the problems of establishing themselves that they had little time to become interested in art and decoration. The few household treasures that they did possess had often been brought with them from their English homes and there was little importation of additional luxuries until the end of the seventeenth century. The interior of the early American home was very simple. The walls were usually plain and whitewashed or tinted with some local coloring matter. Later, when the need for decoration was felt, border designs were added making the walls into panels.

In the early seventeen hundreds, attempts were made to build adaptations of the English Manor House. The wallpapers used in these English Manor Houses were not imported into this country much before the middle of the nineteenth century. There are, however, isolated cases on record, such as that of Thomas Hancock who, in 1737, ordered a specifically made paper from Thomas Rowe in London. In 1800, Josiah Bumstead began manufacturing paper in Boston but, for fine papers, this country looked to France and England.

An historic house is in itself a document often famous because of its connection with some person or event. The Emerson House is regarded as such a house, and will become an essential teaching aid in the field of art and period decoration.

The problem of conserving old wallpaper in an historic house

varies depending to a great extent upon the treatment and restoration work that has been previously attempted, the type of adhesive used to attach the paper to the wall and whether the paper was protected with varnish. The wallpapers in the Emerson House were in a very bad state of preservation and had been completely darkened by the action of soot from the fireplaces and accumulation of Boston dirt and grime. After careful examination of the wallpapers in the Emerson House on the first and second floors, it was decided that it was possible to clean the wallpapers and that there was a good chance that the paper could be removed and later rehung. A decision was made to first clean the wallpapers *in situ*.

As the wallpaper on the ground floor was found to be in the poorest state of preservation, being darkened to the degree of almost obliterating the design, it was decided that the work of restoration would start in this room. The cleaning of the wallpaper was found to be an extremely delicate task as the paint was in a powdery condition. After many days of tedious cleaning, the wallpaper was revealed in its original composition and tonality.

Because of the condition of the paint film it was decided that, once cleaned, it was advisable to spray the wallpaper with a coating of a plastic, polyvinyl acetate, before making any attempt to remove the paper from the wall. After spraying the wallpaper with several thin coats of this plastic it was possible to remove the paper from the plaster wall gradually with the aid of long spatulas acting as cutting knives. These were inserted beneath the paper and, by applying a slight tension to the paper itself, it was possible to remove large sections of the paper. These were then mounted on canvas and again attached to the wall. On removing the top layer of paper it was readily observed that two layers of paper existed, the one directly beneath the scenic paper being an English paper of approximately the date of 1770-79. After the wallpaper was successfully backed with canvas and applied to the walls of the lower room it was obvious that a considerable amount of retouching was necessary in order to carry through the original design, especially in the areas of the sky. After first studying the technique in which the paint had been applied to the paper and after many

weeks of work the retouching and reconstruction was successfully accomplished.

The restoration work was carried out during the winter months when it was found that this room was very cold and drafty and that a regular gale was coming up through the cracks in the floorboards which had badly warped and twisted. The floor was found to be generally unsafe. It was, therefore, decided to remove the floorboards, turn them upside-down, reinstall them, and at the same time close the cracks and reinforce the floor joists.

The wallpaper in the upper front room of the Emerson House was also blackened and in a very bad state of preservation. The paper was identified as one from a series known as "The Bay of Naples" by Joseph Dufour and must have been produced between 1815 and 1820.

In 1803, Jean Zuber became the proprietor of one of the leading French provincial wallpaper factories. Another establishment that was to become one of Zuber's rivals was opened a few years after the Zuber plant. This was the house of Joseph Dufour, who moved into Paris and established himself at 8 Rue Beauveau where he remained until 1845.

The papers of Dufour were undoubtedly the most popular scenic papers in America. "The Monuments of Paris" and the "Vues D'Italie" were special favorites. The "Bay of Naples" paper (its real name "Vues D'Italie") proved another of Dufour's successes. At least ten different sets of his paper have been traced in old American houses.

The papers of Dufour excelled because of his designs and his choice of color. Dufour's own description of this paper says that he painted it in gray, dark brown, olive or stone color. They are sometimes found in gray monochrome or sepia (the wallpaper in the Emerson House is in sepia), and sometimes in gray with a blue design. On all scenic papers there was a large expanse of sky which, in order to adjust the paper to the height of the room, could be cut off without damaging the design. This proved to be a very useful device when the ceilings were low.

In restoring Dufour's paper in the Emerson House, the first

operation was to clean the paper. This was a delicate task, as large areas were found to crumble just from the pressure of the brush but it was accomplished with a minimum of paint loss. Such areas were first fixed to the background with a dilute solution of polyvinyl acetate. After cleaning the paper it was again given two thin coats of polyvinyl acetate which once again adhered the paint to the background.

When the design was studied, it was found that many sections and sometimes entire panels were mixed up and did not follow in the correct sequence. In some areas the drawing had been completely reconstructed and blank pieces of paper had been inserted with a scumbled design which was completely out of context with the "Bay of Naples" design. Fortunately exact duplicates of the reconstructed sections of the paper were obtained from other "Bay of Naples" paper in the Wallingford House in Kennebunk, Maine, and from published photographs of the same paper hanging on the walls of the Pazzi Villa in Florence. Permission was granted to photograph the "Bay of Naples" paper in the Wallingford House which, when enlarged to the same scale as the original paper, would act as an accurate guide for the reconstructed areas.

Fortunately, the wallpapers of this period were usually made of fairly heavy rag paper which allowed us to remove the paper successfully from the walls. On removing the paper it was noted that directly beneath the "Bay of Naples" paper another paper was present. Judging from the paper stainer's stamp on the back of the paper, it was proved to be English, dating around 1780.

In the early seventeen hundreds, wallpapers in England were taxed by the government a penny a square yard. This tax was later increased to one and one-half pennies a square yard. In the manufacture of a roll of paper consisting of 16-24 sheets, each sheet received its government tax stamp and an additional stamp was added to each end.

John Gamble, in 1803, obtained English patents for his invention of the so-called endless paper, but English paper stainers were not allowed to adapt this until 1830 because of the important revenue derived by the government from the stamp tax on small sheets of paper.

On the inner walls surrounding the fireplace of the upper room the plaster was found to bulge badly. After removal of the paper and the old plaster from this area the original paneling and fireplace construction was revealed. Through the efforts of Professor Sterling Dow, a hinged screen-type folding wall was designed which would permit the visitor to inspect the original house and fireplace construction.

The original paper was then laid face down on a large mounting table and the old glue and plaster carefully removed from the back of the paper. After this work was completed, the paper was then pasted and applied to the canvased wall. Plain white paper was carefully fitted into the missing areas and tinted to match the original background of the paper. The missing "Bay of Naples" design was then painted to simulate the original wood-block technique of one color superimposed on another. The reconstruction of the design was accomplished with tempera colors.

The author gratefully acknowledges the interest and guidance given by Professor and Mrs. Sterling Dow. He also acknowledges the assistance of Miss Florence Whitmore, who was chiefly responsible for reconstructing the drawing, and Mr. Joseph Harrington, who assisted in the restoration work.

Read January 23, 1962



Cambridge Court Houses

BY CHARLES S. BOLSTER

A FEW DAYS AGO another member of this Society and I were chatting casually about my scheduled appearance before you this evening; and she remarked that the subject of this paper sounded a bit dry. She then voiced the hope that I might be able so to moisten it that it would be more audibly palatable to the listeners here present. It is true that the topic tonight might be viewed as a timber-and-nails, bricks-and-mortar proposition; but court houses have always been, and still are, focal points of our North American culture, and sidelights are frequently focused by court-house shadows upon the customs and mores of succeeding generations.

A year or so before Mr. Pottinger left us, he pointed a presidential finger at me and somewhat more than suggested that I sometime prepare a paper for one of these meetings. As I remember it, we tentatively discussed the possibility that the subject might have something to do with the matter under discussion this evening. No definite commitments were then made; and after Mr. Pottinger's death I thought that perhaps I might be overlooked by his successor. I had, however, not counted on Mr. Pottinger's thoroughness of purpose; and it was not long before our present president told me that he had found a note in Mr. Pottinger's Historical Society papers to the effect that I had been tagged for future reference. Mr. Payson and I then discussed possible topics and after he had searched our *Proceedings* and ascertained that no paper had previously been delivered dealing primarily with Cambridge court houses, we arrived at an understanding that early this year I should appear before you on that subject.

In the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the year 1800 (printed by Samuel Hall in 1801) appears this paragraph: "The Historical Society holds *not* itself 'responsible for everything', which appears in its *Collections*. If any representation is not supported by good authorities, it is open to temperate discussion. . . . It is requisite that he, who combats any real or supposed error, give his reasons, or authorities, dispassionately; and thus prove that he is contending, not for victory, but for truth. This is the only becoming contest in the republic of letters." These are, I take it, the Marquis of Queensberry Rules which apply to this evening's engagement.

The preparation of this paper has afforded me a welcome opportunity to learn far more about Cambridge than I might otherwise have known; but it has also given rise to frequent feelings of frustration resulting chiefly from my having been unable to track down tantalizing clues to what might be more authentic and complete historical material. For instance, we have, so far as I can discover, no reliable data as to the location, appearance, and type of construction of the first Cambridge court house, and perhaps the second. Because of the destruction of official records through fires and other happenings, some of the reference material which I have examined seems to me to be more fancied than factual. I cannot resist the thought that, like *The Adams Papers* now in the course of publication, there may well be similar papers still in private hands which might shed some further light on this subject, and indeed on other aspects of Cambridge history, and which would to some extent illumine some of the dark interstices in the known history of our past. With this possibility in mind, and in line with Massachusetts Historical Society 1800 ideals, I earnestly implore that, if any of you happen to know of any material which would support, correct, or supplement any of the conclusions I have been able to reach, you will let me know so that this paper, if and when published in the Society's *Proceedings*, will be as accurate and complete as is reasonably possible.¹

¹ During the more than two years since this paper was read, nothing along these lines has been called to my attention.

In the preparation of this paper, I have received most cordial support from members of the staffs at the Cambridge Public Library and the Boston Athenæum, and from Miss March Moran at the office of the County Commissioners. Moreover, we must be grateful to those persons who in the past have recorded the facts here brought together and whose names will be mentioned herein, either in text or in footnote. Chief among them is, of course, Lucius R. Paige whose *History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1630-1877*, was recognized by this Society in 1930 by the publication of a Supplement and Index thereto, and was characterized by Arthur Gilman in 1896 as "a volume which must stand for all time as the authority for the history of the town of Cambridge."²

Newtown, the governmental forerunner of Cambridge, was settled on December 28, 1630. The first house was built in the spring of 1631 by Governor Dudley. One of the first concerns of the original settlers was the establishment of judicial courts, as distinguished from general courts (the predecessors of our present legislature which is still known as the "General Court"), whose functions had been both legislative and judicial but which, after judicial courts were set up, were primarily concerned with the enactment of statutory laws for the orderly regulation of society. So, in 1635, judicial courts were constituted by the General Court and the judges thereof were appointed to adjudicate disputes between or among the inhabitants of the colony. Cambridge was immediately designated as one of four towns of the colony in which judicial courts were to be held.

It may reasonably be assumed that the first judicial court in Cambridge was held in the meetinghouse. In *An Historic Guide to Cambridge*, prepared by the Hannah Winthrop Chapter of the D.A.R. in 1907, Miss Marion Brown Fessenden says that the first meetinghouse, built in 1632, was until 1643 used as the court house and as the town house, and that it was located "on the westerly side of Dunster Street, a little north of a point midway between Mt. Auburn and Winthrop Streets."³ In that same vol-

² Arthur Gilman, ed., *The Cambridge of Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-Six*, Cambridge, 1896.

³ P. 10.

ume, Mrs. Grace Jones Wardwell says that in 1634 the General Court, then having both legislative and judicial power, transferred its sessions from Boston to Cambridge, and that in 1635 the General Court ordered that four separate courts be held every quarter at Boston, Ipswich, Salem, and Newtown, "these courts to be presided over by such magistrates as dwelt in or near those towns, or such persons as should from time to time be appointed by the General Court."⁴

In 1643 it was deemed wise, in view of the increasing number of towns in the colony and the attendant larger increase in official and judicial business, to divide the colony into counties or shires. On May 10 of that year, it was enacted by the General Court that the whole of the plantation within this jurisdiction be divided into four shires: Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Middlesex, the latter embracing Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Sudbury, Concord, Woburn, Medford, and Linn Village (later incorporated as Reading in 1684). Cambridge was designated as the shire town of Middlesex, and as such the place in which judicial courts of the county were to be held.

All historians seem to agree that the site and type of the first court house in Cambridge are unknown, although the building was probably within the present Harvard Square area and was undoubtedly built of wood. It was probably constructed after May 10, 1643. Conklin in his *History of Middlesex County and Its People* (1927) states that "there had been a house of some sort in which the courts were held from the formation of the county." It was even more probably in use within the following decade because of the record of a trial that has been of great interest to historians over the years, and which may shed a very thin ray of light on whether or not a separate court house did then actually exist.

Samuel Eliot Morison in his two-volume history of *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, published in 1936, tells us that early in April 1655, Henry Dunster, then president of Harvard, who had spoken out against infant baptism and had not presented his fourth child for that rite, was tried by the county court at Cam-

⁴ P. 29.

bridge on July 30, 1654, "for disturbance of the ordinances of Christ" by interrupting a baptismal service to expand his views to the effect that only adult penitent believers were proper subjects of baptism and by denouncing "corupcions stealing into the Church." He was found guilty and was sentenced to a public admonition by a magistrate in the Cambridge meetinghouse on the next lecture day.⁵ It can, I think, reasonably be assumed either that Dunster's trial was held in the court house which Conklin envisaged, or that it was held in the meetinghouse, particularly if we are to conclude that the sentence imposed by the court would have been meted out in the same structure which housed the trial.

That was not Dunster's only encounter with the law. He subsequently became financially involved with one Glover, and Glover sued. The case was tried at Cambridge before Governor Endicott and four other magistrates on April 1, 1656. The jury found for Glover but respited execution until June (by which time Glover had died) to afford Dunster an opportunity to bring in counter accounts. The final outcome on June 24, 1656, was a verdict that Dunster owed Glover's estate £1,462 9s. 9d., plus a silver tankard and his father's books, and that Glover's estate owed Dunster £1,330 1s. 7d., leaving a net balance in favor of Glover's estate of £132 8s. 2d., plus the tankard and the books.

The chief point of interest to us tonight relative to that trial is that there were obviously several triers of fact present, as well as the parties and presumably also some witnesses and spectators. This poses the question whether a small court house could adequately have accommodated such an array or whether the trial was more likely held in the meetinghouse, which was presumably more commodious. If the latter, was there a separate court house then standing? I think we can only speculate.

The first court house, whatever and wherever it was, appears to have burned in 1671 or very shortly theretofore, because the court files for that year disclose that provision was made for rewriting whatever could be found from the records after the fire. Thereafter, until 1707, courts were held at Boston and Charlestown, and sub-

⁵ Vol. 1, p. 311-314.

sequently at Concord and Lowell, and possibly also at Cambridge if we can feel, in the absence of any definite knowledge, that another court house was there built after the 1671 fire. Conklin states that there has been a court house at Cambridge since 1643. Paige and others are not so sure. It is certain, however, that if there was a court house between 1671 and 1707, we know nothing about it.

The records of the Court of Sessions show that on April 23, 1707, there was allowed £30 out of the treasury toward erecting a suitable court house for use of the county in the town of Cambridge, one-half of which was to be paid at the raising and covering and the other half at the finishing. The court house was to be "not less than 4 and 20 feet wide and 8 and 20 feet long [some sources say 30 feet long] and height proportionable." The land was donated by Andrew Bordman and John Bunker, who had owned it, together with a shop thereon, and who were to be recompensed by having a space for themselves in the lower portion of the new building. The upper floor was expected to be sufficient to accommodate the court in the transaction of its business. The new court house was built and occupied in 1708. It was located about in the middle of the Harvard Square of today. Paige said in 1877, "nearly in front of the present Lyceum Hall."⁶

In the mid-1950's the Cambridge Historic Sites Committee entrusted to the Social Studies Department of the High and Latin School the responsibility of making an inventory and study of Colonial and Revolutionary buildings. The resulting report was prepared both by students and teachers of the school and was incorporated by our Historic Sites Committee in its report to the U. S. Congress. Excerpts from the records of that study or from the report appear in the 1958 Annual Report of the Cambridge Public Schools. It is there stated that the second court house was erected in 1707 on the site of the present subway station in the center of Harvard Square. (Parenthetically this 1958 report also states that in 1744 Harvard's Holden Chapel was used as a court house, although no authoritative basis for that statement is given.) In any

⁶ Lucius R. Paige, *History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1630-1877*, Boston, 1877, p. 212.

event, no other location of the 1707-1708 court house is anywhere suggested.

That structure was used by the courts for about half a century. In 1756, the Court of Sessions appointed a commission to provide better accommodations, either by enlarging and repairing the then "old court house" or by erecting a new one. On November 2, 1756, the town of Cambridge voted to pay its "customary proportion" of the cost of a "new Court House, to be erected, of such model and dimensions, and in such place in the town, as the Committee of said Court shall judge most suitable and commodious: provided the materials of the old meetinghouse now about to be taken down, be given and applied (so far as they shall be wanted) to that use, together with the town's proportion of the present [second] Court House."⁷

The "new" court house thus authorized was built in 1757, and was first occupied in 1758. It was a square two-story building, "where"—as James Russell Lowell wrote—"Parsons once laid down the law, and Ames and Dexter showed their skill in the fence of argument. Times have changed," he continued, "and manners, since Chief Justice Dana caused to be arrested for contempt of court, a butcher who had come in without a coat to witness the administration of his country's laws, and who thus had his curiosity exemplarily gratified." Samuel Adams Drake, in his *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex* (1874), referred to this court house as one which had witnessed the trial of many notable causes, and furnished Harvard law students with a real and most convenient theatre.

The building was erected where in 1900 the Lyceum Building stood, on the westerly side of Harvard Square, and where part of the buildings now occupied by the Harvard Cooperative Society are located. Its dimensions were thirty by forty feet, and it was adorned with a cupola surmounted by a gilded ball. The foundation was of hewn stone; "the upper part of the house was of ash, painted a pale yellow, making a pretty contrast with the big door which was of red." It had a broad slanting roof of gray and above it

⁷ Same, p. 213.

the imposing cupola.⁸ Some of the timbers taken from the third meetinghouse which was demolished in 1756 were used in the construction, all in accordance with the 1756 authorization.

This structure housed the court sittings until 1816, when, as we shall soon see, the seat of the courts was moved to East Cambridge. After that occurred, the "famous old [1757] court house," as it was deservedly termed, was used for town and parish purposes until April 9, 1841, when it was sold for one dollar to Owen S. Keith and others, in trust for the use of the proprietors of the Lyceum Hall to be erected on the premises but reserving the use of the hall for all necessary meetings of the voters of the first ward. Soon after that sale, the structure was moved to Palmer Street, where, Paige said in 1877, "it still remains, being occupied for secular purposes."⁹ Drake wrote in 1874 that the old court house was, after 1841, removed from the site of the present Lyceum Building, "and is even now existing in its rear, where it is utilized for workshops."¹⁰ In 1900, Hon. Charles J. McIntire, then First Judge of Probate, said in his remarks at the dedication of the present Registry of Deeds and Probate Building that the 1757 Court House was then still in existence, "forming the humble rear addition, on Palmer Street, of the building standing upon the northwesterly corner of Brattle and Palmer Streets, where the curious may still easily mark its original outlines and height." I confess that I have not been so curious as to attempt to ascertain whether or not any remnant of that structure is still discernible. Mrs. Wardwell, in her article, adds that after the building's removal to the northwest corner of Brattle and Palmer streets, where in 1907 it still remained, it had been used as a billiard room and bowling alley, then for a gymnasium and fencing school, and finally as an addition to a store.¹¹ *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

⁸ Woodcuts of the 1756-1758 Court House are illustrated in the Daughters of the American Revolution, Hannah Winthrop Chapter, *An Historic Guide to Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1907, p. 30, and in Samuel Atkins Eliot, *A History of Cambridge, Massachusetts (1630-1913)*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 102.

⁹ Paige, *History of Cambridge*, p. 214.

¹⁰ Drake, *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex*, p. 217.

¹¹ D.A.R., *Historic Guide to Cambridge*, p. 31.

Let us not leave the pre-East Cambridge Court House era without pausing to enjoy two bits of early history. Drake writes that in 1687 there were two lawyers in Massachusetts. "The noted crown agent, Randolph, wrote to a friend in England, in that year, as follows: 'I have wrote you the want we have of two or three *honest attorneys*, if there be any such thing in Nature. We have but two' "; one who came from New York " 'takes *extravagant fees*, and for want of more [lawyers], the country cannot avoid coming to him,' " and another who appears to have been "George Farewell, who said in open court in Charlestown that all causes must be brought to Boston, because there were not honest men enough in Middlesex to make a jury to serve their turns."¹²

The other amusing bit comes from Conklin, who tells us in his history that the Quarter Sessions Courts (as they were termed during one period in the eighteenth century) were often held in the taverns of that age, and that the landlord of a tavern was usually a leader in the village and often held such offices as Justice of the Peace or local magistrate, and—in certain instances—a deacon of the church. Conklin then quite ingenuously refers to the power of the Inferior Quarter Courts, among other powers, to license taverns. Is it unfair to surmise that the favor of granting a license to a particular villager may have been repaid by the latter's somewhat more lavish hospitality to the Quarter Sessions judiciary on their itinerant rounds? At least we have Conklin as an authority that taverns were also used as court houses. *In vino veritas!*

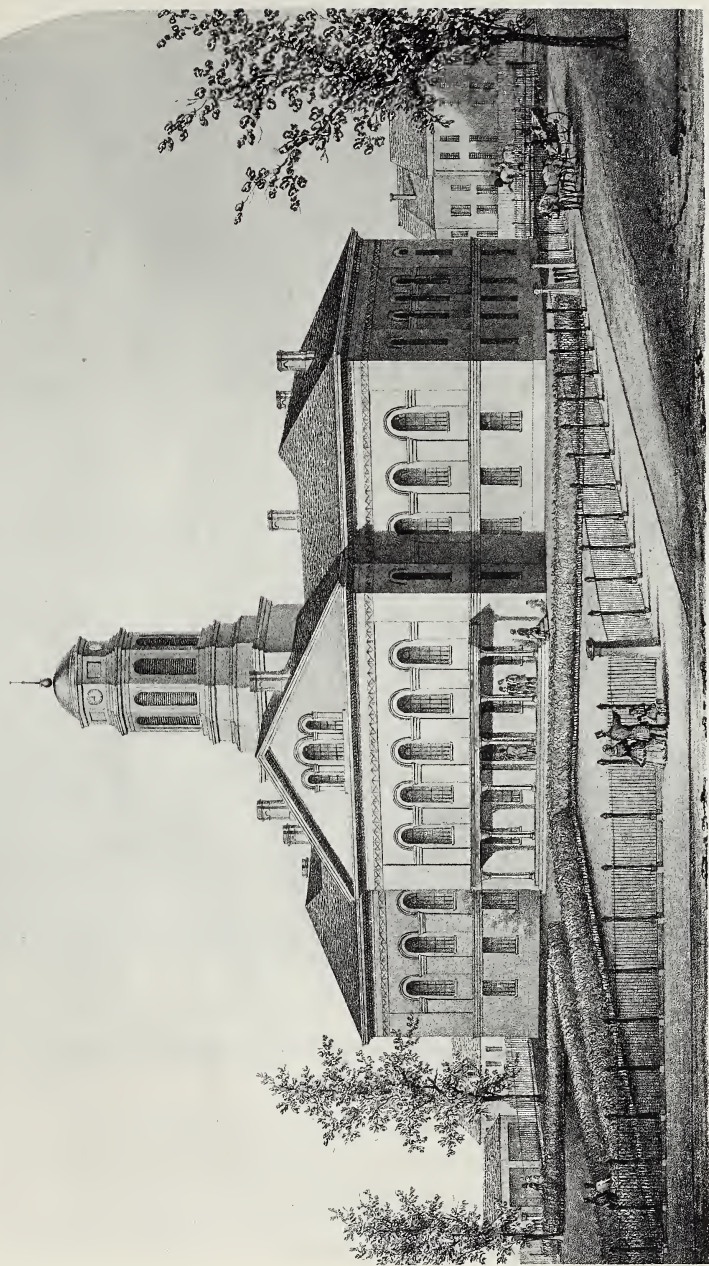
As we proceed with the courts from Harvard Square to East Cambridge we immediately encounter the redoubtable personage of Andrew Craigie. Here was a man whose exploitations of real estate would put the present-day operators to shame. While others were developing that part of Cambridge then known as Cambridgeport, Craigie and some associates were quietly buying up land in the Lechmere Point area. Paige tells us that Craigie's earliest transactions were conducted with much skill and secrecy. His name did not appear on the records until the whole scheme was accomplished. Paige outlines for us Craigie's several methods of opera-

¹² Drake, *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex*, p. 220.

tion.¹³ To repeat them here would lead me too far astray. Suffice it to say that Craigie, directly or indirectly, eventually owned or controlled most of the area now known as East Cambridge, as well as a not inconsiderable portion of Somerville contiguous to his Cambridge domain. "As nearly as can be ascertained from the records," says Paige, "Craigie paid less than twenty thousand dollars for the whole estate."¹⁴ He then obtained a corporate charter and authority in the corporation to erect Canal Bridge, more appropriately then called "Craigie's Bridge," extending from the northwesterly end of Leverett Street in Boston to the east end of Lechmere Point. The bridge was completed in 1809, and roads were opened to Cambridge Common, to Medford, and elsewhere, to attract travel from the country to Boston. Then, by an Act approved March 3, 1810, Craigie and his associates were incorporated as the Lechmere Point Corporation. Streets and lots were laid out, but sales were few; and so, to spur on the project, Craigie's corporation offered to the County of Middlesex the rectangular parcel of land bounded by Otis, Second, Thorndike, and Third streets and a lot seventy-five feet in depth across the westerly side of and back from Thorndike Street between Second and Third streets. In addition to those two parcels of land, the corporation offered to erect on the former a court house and on the latter a jail, satisfactory to the Court, at an expense to the corporation not exceeding \$24,000, on condition that as soon as the edifices were completed they should be used for the purposes designed. Despite the earnest protest of the town against the removal of the courts and records from Harvard Square, the Court of Sessions accepted Craigie's corporation's offer, and indeed later ordered that Craigie's corporation be paid \$4,190.78, being the additional cost of the court house and jail over and above the \$24,000 which the corporation had offered to expend on the buildings. The court house was erected in 1814, completed in 1815, and at the March 1816 Term of the Court, the first sitting was held in the new building. The most recent use of that building for the transaction of court business was today!

¹³ Paige, *History of Cambridge*, p. 183.

¹⁴ Same, p. 186.



Courtesy of the Boston Athenaeum

COURT HOUSE IN EAST CAMBRIDGE, LITHOGRAPH BY EBENEZER

TAPPAN AND LODOWICK H. BRADFORD, AROUND 1850



Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society

PETER TUFTS' PLAN OF LECHMERE POINT IN 1811

From 1816 on, the success of Craigie's enterprise was assured. It has been estimated that Craigie himself profited by upwards of \$300,000 on this venture.

Other examples of Craigie's ability in real estate operations are portrayed by Paige at pages 203 *et seq.* of his *History*. Since they have nothing to do with court houses, we cannot dwell upon them here; but it perhaps should be noted that there is on file at the office of the City Clerk a "very energetic remonstrance" to the General Court by a committee of citizens alleging "that the inhabitants of Cambridge and Cambridgeport are deeply afflicted by the incessant machinations and intrigues of Mr. Andrew Craigie, in regard to roads"; and in other respects.¹⁵

The building which was erected in 1814-1815 was originally of wood construction. Its exterior was refaced with red pressed brick during the summer of 1898. That building still stands in the center of the court-house complex on the land bounded by Otis, Second, Thorndike, and Third streets, and is the structure directly under the cupola or tower.

The original East Cambridge Court House was enlarged between 1846 and 1848 by the additions of two wings towards the intersections of Otis and Third streets and Thorndike and Third streets, respectively.

In 1877, the work of the courts requiring the whole of the building (as it had been enlarged in 1848), a new structure for the Registry of Deeds was erected within the enclosure, which, twelve years later, in 1889, was moved back, and an extensive front structure was added for the accommodation of the Court of Probate and Insolvency, as it was then called. These successive patchwork enlargements, although they did away with any semblance of architectural homogeneity, afforded temporary relief from closely overcrowded quarters.

But not for long. Middlesex County was then, as it still is, a rapidly growing area; and it soon became apparent that the 1816 court house with its successive appendages could not adequately handle the judicial business of the county. And so, in 1896, the

¹⁵ Same, p. 206.

General Court by Ch. 500 of the Acts of that year, authorized the construction by the county of a new Registry of Deeds and Probate Building to cost \$700,000 on the rectangular parcel of land bounded by Cambridge, Second, Otis, and Third streets. The exterior of the building was to be of brick, even as one sees it today; and while the structure was and is more imposing than functional in appearance, it was hailed, even in prospect, as a magnificent example of a hall of justice. The architecture has been described as "after the modern type of Italian Renaissance," which is, perhaps as exact a characterization as it is reasonably possible to assign.

By the end of 1898, the County Commissioners could report that construction, which had been slow, although satisfactory in character, had progressed to a point where the building had been closed in and work on the interior finish was in progress. The delay had presumably been due in part to certain changes in construction which had been authorized by Ch. 170 of the Acts of 1898. It was said by the Commissioners in their 1898 report that "the General Contractor promises completion in September 1899."

But such was not to be. Early in 1899 the general contractor fell upon evil financial ways and was forced to make an assignment for the benefit of its creditors. Thereafter, work on the building was carried on by the County Commissioners under an agreement with the subcontractors, payments being made direct to them from the county. The Commissioners fortunately had obtained a "good bond" when the contract was let, and had prudently withheld payments from the general contractor, both of which precautions made possible the eventual completion of the building without any considerable loss to the taxpayers.

In their 1899 report, the County Commissioners again had to confess that work on the building had progressed slowly during the year, and that it then appeared that the building would be occupied during the 1900 summer vacation; and, at long last, it was so.

The building was dedicated on November 13, 1900, with impressive ceremonies. A copy of the Dedication Exercises can be found at the Cambridge Public Library (and doubtless elsewhere) and is well worth perusing.

By the transfer of the Registry of Deeds and the Probate Court to the new building, accommodations for the Supreme Judicial Court and the Superior Court were enlarged and improved, for which there had been a great need for years. The office of the Clerk of Courts was moved into the old Probate Record Hall in the old Probate Building built in 1889. The old Registry of Deeds was converted into a Court Room (the one now overlooking Second Street) and the old Probate Court Room was given over to the Superior Court's Equity and jury-waived sittings. The space in the old building formerly occupied by the Clerk of Courts was thereafter in part used by the Sheriff, his deputies, and the court officers, the side rooms serving to increase space for the office of the County Treasurer. There also the District Attorney was given better accommodations. The law library was moved into more adequate quarters in the upper part of the old Probate Building, and the space theretofore used by the library was made available to the public while waiting for trials. That space, or part of it, is now used by the Superior Court Probation Officer and his staff.

As we should naturally expect, judicial business continued to increase, and there was constant need for further accommodations. There being no remaining land in the aforesaid rectangle on which to erect other excrescences, a policy of further subdividing the interiors was embarked upon. A portion of the basement at the southwest corner of the Registry of Deeds and Probate Building was partitioned off and made into a Superior Court room. It is affectionately termed by judges and trial lawyers "The Dugout." Superior Court judges have sat in one, or at times two, of the four Probate Court rooms if they were not then being used by one of the two, and later three, Judges of Probate. Two years ago, two more Superior Court rooms were laid out in the old District Court building which stands on the corner of Third and Spring streets, diagonally opposite the new District Court building. These makeshift arrangements require that jurors, witnesses, and others who are interested in a case which is sent for trial to one of these courtrooms, proceed from the Court House headquarters, so to speak, to another building about a block away through sun or rain, or in the

winter through snow, ice, or slush, and then return to the center of operations when the trial is over. Even with these additional courtrooms there is bad overcrowding: bad not only in the utterly inadequate space available, but even worse in that lawyers, parties, and witnesses are constantly intermingling in corridors through which jurors must move in going from their own quarters to most of the trial courtrooms. The opportunity for maladministration of justice is constantly and glaringly apparent.

In short, what Middlesex County has needed for years is a new court house, not merely to accommodate today's urgent demands but the clearly foreseeable requirements of at least the next twenty-five years, by which time it is estimated that the work of the Superior Court alone will necessitate at a minimum twice the space available today.

Before leaving the old building of 1815 vintage, it should be recorded that the 1938 hurricane caused considerable damage to its tower, resulting in some bulging of the easterly wall of the criminal session (the wall overlooking Thorndike Street near its intersection with Third Street) and further settling of the foundation. The tower was reinforced and shoring was placed in the basement as a temporary measure to make the structure safe for the time being. At earlier times the center of the old building had been reinforced with new floor members to make that area safe. The original building resembles nothing more than a decaying and aching cavity in an otherwise healthy but not too handsome tooth.

I must touch briefly upon the two District Court buildings to which I have already alluded. The touch is brief, not because those structures did and do not house a very important tribunal, but because our late esteemed member, Judge Almy, read a paper before this Society in 1923 which tells the full story of that court and its habitations up to that date.¹⁶

The Third District Court of Eastern Middlesex acquired that name in 1882 upon the abolishment of the earlier Police Court. The sessions of the Police Court, established in 1854, were first

¹⁶ Hon. Charles Almy, "The History of the Third District Court of Eastern Middlesex," Cambridge Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 17 (1923-1924): 16-27.

held in a small wooden building in East Cambridge near the 1923 site of the Lechmere Bank. They were later held in what was in 1923 the wardroom over the police station on Fourth Street, and still later in a brick building on Church Street, then being used as a police station. In 1875, the police court removed to the city building in Brattle Square, where it stayed until 1913 when it moved into what is now known as the Old District Court Building (where two sessions of the Superior Court are now held) at the northwest corner of Third and Spring streets. It was then for the first time, wrote Judge Almy, "completely and properly divorced from any connection with any police station." The judge goes on to describe the interior and then says (1923): "It was adequate for the needs of the court when built, but the increase of business has been so great that it is already outgrown, and plans have been prepared for an addition which will give a third court room, with the necessary additional offices."¹⁷ Here we see again the unforesightful (to coin one new word for Merriam's next edition of "Webster") measures taken to cope with imperative needs.

Eight years later, in 1931, by Ch. 84 of the Acts of the General Court for that year, \$475,000 was appropriated for the construction on the southeast corner of Third and Spring streets of a new District Court Building. An attractive and useful structure was built and still houses that Court, now presided over by Hon. Haven Parker and Hon. Edward Viola as presiding justices, with the assistance of two special justices. The total cost, including land, building, and furnishings was \$474,240.71, resulting in a saving within the appropriation of \$759.29.

To sum up (as we lawyers say), judicial courts of various sorts have been held in Cambridge in varying types of edifices, including a meetinghouse, several different court houses, a chapel, police stations, and sundry other buildings including inns and taverns. To complete this picture, Judge Almy tells us in his paper that his brother once tried a case before a justice of the peace in a barroom! So it will be seen that while the topic of this paper may at first glance seem dry, the administration of justice in Massachusetts has

¹⁷ Same, p. 22.

at times in the past occasionally been tempered if not tintured by pleasing moisture.

In Arthur Gilman's *The Cambridge of 1896*, written fifty years after the incorporation of Cambridge as a city, the editor in a preface refers to numerous leads which had led nowhere within ready source availability. He says: "All of this we must pass on to the editor of 'The Cambridge of 1946' with our compliments." I have not been able to discover that 1946 produced such a book; but I now pass on to the writers of future papers on this subject the "leads" set forth above which have led me into a very interesting and stimulating bit of research and have afforded you, I hope, some further insight into Cambridge's court-house past, its present, and the imperative needs for its future.

Read April 3, 1962



The First Cambridge Historical Commission

BY ROSAMOND COOLIDGE HOWE

THIS PAPER is a progress report on the first steps in preservation and conservation following the acceptance by the Cambridge City Council of the Final Report of the Historic Districts Study Committee. It was that study and our hopes for it which I presented to you in late May of 1962. I am preparing this review of what is now happening in Cambridge early in 1964, as this volume of *Proceedings* goes to press, to bring to the attention of our members the necessity of co-operative and intelligent planning for the growing needs of the families, the industries, and the institutions which make up our city, and at the same time of preserving for the enjoyment and understanding of present and future generations as much as is possible and practicable of our rich heritage in Cambridge of historic landmarks, both buildings and sites, and of examples of architecture surviving from earlier periods. Since World War II, and especially in the 1950's, concern for preservation has increased across the country. Our Final Report to the Council is a mine of information, and other sources are listed at the end of this brief paper. We hope that our Cambridge report may be printed in quantity because it is the definitive record of official preservation plans in this city to date. It contains maps of our four districts, a map of a possible Historic Pathway for the visitor on foot, and a map of the whole city showing the pre-Revolutionary buildings still standing. It includes upwards of forty pages of early history of the city, and most particularly of the buildings considered most important to preserve. It spells out the advantages and

responsibilities of ownership of a building within an historic district. It concludes with the ordinance under which our Commission operates.

Briefly in chronological order these are the events which have taken place in Cambridge since the Council vote of April 1961 through March 1, 1964.

May 1960: General Laws, Chapter 40 c, the Historic Districts Act of the Massachusetts Legislature triggered the first action of the Cambridge Council.

April 27, 1961: The City Council established an Historic Districts Study Committee to make a report of proposed districts and landmarks with recommendations for their care and improvement.

June 26, 1961: The Council approved appointment by the City Manager of the first five members. Two more were added later. The group was very congenial and was most fortunate in the leadership of Albert B. Wolfe, lawyer, member of this Society, a man profoundly interested and knowledgeable in the progress of the preservation movement in this country. All members were Cambridge residents, and there were included nominees recommended according to the stipulations of the Enabling Act: Dwight H. Andrews and John B. Sullivan, realtors, Walter E. Campbell, architect, William A. Edmonds, head of the history department at the Cambridge High and Latin School, Hugh M. Lyons, ardent worker for preservation of Fort Washington and similar sites, and Rosamond C. Howe, member of this Society.

August 3, 1961: On a very hot evening there began an eleven-month series of almost biweekly and faithfully attended work meetings by the group of seven members who gave their best efforts to a voluntary task which they considered of first importance.

February 15, 1962: The committee transmitted a First Report, in accordance with the Enabling Act, to the Cambridge Planning Board, to the State Art Commission, and to the State Commissions of Commerce and of Natural Resources. Reactions were favorable.

April 23, 1962: A Public Hearing was held in the Council Chamber after due notice. Again reactions were encouraging.

June 19, 1962: The Final Report, dated June 7, 1962, was submitted to the City Council. The Cambridge Historic Districts Study Committee thereby was dissolved.

Our proposals were outlined in detail in the Final Report to the City Council. In brief, they came under four heads.

First: We recommended a professional survey on a city-wide basis for buildings of architectural and historic significance beginning with those shown on Hale's map of 1830. We emphasized the need for moving without undue delay. The city has lost significant buildings by demolition over the years, some of which might have been saved by moving if a plan had been ready.

Second: The committee emphasized the value and importance of increased publicity about Cambridge buildings and sites, the need for markers, especially where the buildings are no longer standing, as in the case of the early Meeting House.

Third: We listed further needs, such as maps, brochures, and models like those of the early settlement now located in Widener Library.

Fourth: We recommended the establishment of four historic districts to prevent unnecessary loss or damage to certain historic buildings and their neighborhoods. The four chosen included the greatest number of buildings for which abundant material was readily available without long and expensive research beyond practicality for the Committee.

1. The Cambridge Common Historic District (including the entire perimeter of the Common) in which are located Massachusetts Hall (1720); Harvard Hall (1766); Hollis Hall (1764); Holden Chapel (1742); Christ Church (1759-61); Vassall-Waterhouse House (circa 1725); Old Burying Ground, and other fine church and college buildings of special interest.
2. The Longfellow Historic District including the Longfellow House (1759); Henry Vassall House (part 17th century); Longfellow Park complete with houses on both sides, parkland across Mount Auburn Street to the

Charles River, houses on both sides of the Longfellow House and others along Willard Street.

3. The Fayerweather-Lee Historic District including the houses on the north side of Brattle Street from Reidesel Avenue to Fayerweather Street, the oldest being, from east to west, Reidesel House (1762); Judge Joseph Lee House (1799); Lee-Nichols House (circa 1660); Marrett-Ruggles-Fayerweather House (1760).
4. The Lowell Historic District comprising the Oliver-Gerry-Lowell House estate (1767), and the adjoining portion of Lowell Park.

From the beginning our Committee had complete and very helpful publicity in the Cambridge *Chronicle-Sun*. Mr. Eliot Spaulding, editor, throughout these three years has been unfailingly co-operative. Operating as we did without a budget appropriation, we were very dependent for publicity on the excellent coverage which he gave to our work.

It seemed a long wait while the Council delayed voting on our report. Mr. Wolfe was generous with his time, conferring on details and answering the questions of the individual Council members. A few councilors had strong reservations, others favored adoption without delay. The report lay on the table for most of the following winter. The original committee members bided their time, keeping interest in the report alive by speaking before groups and to many individuals. Finally one summer evening the vote was taken at quarter past eleven by the clock in the Council Chamber, as the Council prepared to adjourn for the season. It was a dramatic moment for the three members of our committee who had sat all through the meeting. The Cambridge Historical Commission Ordinance proposed for the carrying out of our recommendations was adopted by the required two-thirds vote.

The next step was appointment of the Commission. On September 9, 1963, Manager John J. Curry made the necessary appointments, including three from nominees submitted pursuant to the Enabling Act, and on November 4, 1963, the City Council voted its confirmation. Seven regular members and three alternate members thus took office for staggered terms commencing as of September 9, 1963, four from the original Committee, and six additional members. Mr. Wolfe and Mrs. Howe, members at large, were appointed

for one year, Mr. Andrews for two years, Mr. Lyons for three years. The new members included three architects, James C. Hopkins, Jr., Arthur H. Brooks, Jr., regular members, and James F. Clapp, Jr., alternate. Henry D. Winslow was appointed a regular member and Arthur E. Sutherland an alternate, both for three years and both recommended by our Society, lawyers deeply interested in Cambridge. The remaining alternate was J. Henry Quinn, realtor. On November 13, 1963, at 8:00 p.m. in the Walnut Room, City Hall, the Cambridge Historical Commission held its first meeting.

What have we accomplished in the three months since our Commission came into being? We have an organization, a meeting place, forms worked out and printed for applicants desiring changes within a district, two difficult applications with their attendant public hearings completed, our district procedures well established, a budget of \$15,000 for the current year approved by the City Council and allocated mainly for the survey, and a challenging program outlined. It is a good Commission of interested people experienced in fields which enable them to be useful to this work. Mr. Wolfe is chairman by unanimous acclaim, Mr. Winslow vice-chairman, and Mr. Alan McClennan, City Planning Director, is secretary. This secretarial appointment is ideal for our needs because from the early days of the Study Committee Mr. McClennan with his staff has aided us by the reproduction of maps, has given invaluable help in consultation, and now attends our meetings regularly. In fact our quarters for meetings, small hearings, and storage and use of the files and photographic and other materials that we are gathering are in the department rooms in the City Annex. By invitation of the architectural historian, Mrs. Antoinette Downing, chairman of the Providence, Rhode Island, Historical Commission, we became acquainted at first hand with the restoration of the College Hill area and the Providence survey work. We have done considerable work in locating source materials to help in the survey, and have talked or corresponded with many leading architectural historians experienced with surveys in an effort to assemble the best team for our purposes. We hope to have such a team and supporting advisory committees by summer.

Our first two cases have been applications for certificates of appropriateness for changes in the Cambridge Common District. The first was received from Harvard University for permission to tear down the little house at 22 Appian Way; the second was from the owners of the Commander Hotel for permission to tear down the house numbered 12 Garden Street. Both owners required the space sought for limited parking of cars. On the face of it, two less attractive propositions for an historical district would be hard to imagine. Our deliberations were painstaking, our consideration of all angles was exhaustively pursued. The co-operation of the applicants and their lawyers in supplying information and detailed drawings and specifications modifying their original plans within the district was freely given. Inasmuch as both houses proved to be neither historically nor architecturally important, it was unanimously voted to permit demolition. In the case of Harvard, the cleared space will be grassed over after the School of Education building is completed further down Appian Way. In the case of the hotel, the cleared space will be planned for a limited number of cars with deep planting and a wall across the front, set back approximately as far as the house and screening from the Common view of the parked cars. The Commission's responsibility is to preserve an appropriate setting for the Cambridge Common and to prevent developments obviously incongruous to the surroundings. A basic attitude of the Commissioners toward their work is the desire to work with, not against, the property owner who wants to improve his property and to reach a final plan which is appropriate to the surroundings, satisfying the requirements of the Commission's responsibility, and meeting the needs of the applicant without involving him in substantial hardship, financial or otherwise.

Cambridge appears to be on the threshold of another great expansion of population needs within the present existing boundaries. May the landmarks of her first four centuries receive our thoughtful, imaginative care.

Original report read May 22, 1962

Revision carried up to March 1964

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Note: These reports are regrettably out of print or difficult to find, but the Commission has a copy of each on file at the office in City Hall Annex, 57 Inman Street, Cambridge 39. They may be studied at the office but are not available for borrowing.



Horse Car, Trolley, and Subway

By FOSTER M. PALMER

WHEN our president asked me to speak on the subject of street railways in Cambridge, I demurred somewhat. Not denying considerable familiarity with the topic in general, I pointed out the relative brevity of my personal acquaintance with the Cambridge scene. Remembering the reception given the man who ventured to write a book about Brattle Street when his family had lived there only a hundred years,¹ I questioned the propriety of one who arrived in Cambridge several weeks after trolley buses were put on Huron Avenue trying to tell anything about Cambridge street railways to an audience, a goodly number of whom can remember when horse cars went past the door of the house where we are meeting.

In the end we compromised. After all, street railways are neither so ancient nor so sacred a subject as Brattle Street. It was agreed that I should try to depict the main lineaments of the local scene and put them in relation to the broader one more familiar to me through long study. I certainly do not expect to say the last word on the railways of Cambridge tonight; the material is far too vast to be covered fully in one paper, no matter how perfect one's lifetime familiarity with it. Let us hope that we shall in the future have definitive papers by other hands on such more specific topics as the Cambridge Railroad and the Union Railway, the Meigs Elevated Railway, or Cambridge carbarns, to suggest a few. But tonight you will hear the story of local rail transit in Cambridge as it appears to one with a global interest in the subject.²

¹ Cambridge Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 35:111.

² In addition to the sources specifically cited below, mention should be made of *Fifty*

The first street railways were products of the railroad boom of the 1830's. They were not envisioned purely to provide transportation within the city, a need as yet not pressing or obvious in the small, compact cities of that day. Both the New York and Harlem, opened in 1832, and the New Orleans and Carrollton (1835) were, as their names suggested, short-distance railroads linking a city with a nearby town. Both handled some of their longer runs with steam, and the horse-drawn intracity services were slow in drawing imitators. Throughout the 1830's and 1840's, these two remained special cases; street railway was not yet a common noun. The demand for local transportation was increasing, but it was being met by the omnibus, a short-distance stage coach that put on runners in winter.

The street railway did not begin to proliferate until the 1850's. The New York and Harlem was suddenly joined in the streets of New York by several other railways. A city railroad opened in Brooklyn, then of course a separate city unconnected by bridge or political bonds to New York, in 1854. Across the Atlantic in Paris a "chemin de fer américain" began regular service in 1855. The line linking Cambridge with Boston comes next, in 1856.³ Thus while Cambridge has no absolute priority in a wider area than New England, it definitely ranks as one of the pioneers and holds a noteworthy place in the world history of local transportation. To get a little ahead of our story for a moment, let me add that by the end of 1859 the number of cities having street railways had doubled, and that in the next decade the spread was world-wide; we read, for instance, of a horse railway in Batavia (the present Djakarta) in 1869.

Years of Unified Transportation in Metropolitan Boston, Boston Elevated Railway Company, 1938. The official annual reports required by the state, beginning with *Annual Reports of the Railroad Corporations in the State of Massachusetts for 1856*, Boston, 1856, continued from 1857 to 1869 as *Returns of the Railroad Corporations*, and thereafter in *Annual Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners*, contain much interesting financial and other statistical data which this paper makes no attempt to analyze. They are much less useful for such matters as dates and locations of new routes, which have in many cases been inferred from directory, and other, maps in the Harvard College Library and from schedules published in the directories and in newspapers.

³ The Metropolitan Railroad, connecting Boston and Roxbury, was chartered earlier but opened later.

In 1853, when street railways were first projected here, Boston had about 150,000 inhabitants, Cambridge not quite 20,000. Two bridges linked the two cities, the West Boston Bridge, built in 1793, and the Canal or Craigie Bridge, built in 1809.⁴ Both were toll bridges, though the company owning them was called the Hancock Free Bridge Corporation. The Harvard Branch Railroad, an enterprise whose story was so excellently told us by Mr. Robert Lovett three years ago,⁵ had been running since the end of 1849, but suffered the disadvantages of having a limited number of trains a day, an indirect route, and a not too convenient Boston terminus. It was losing money and was destined to have a short life of less than six years. The Fitchburg Railroad offered a limited amount of service to Porter's and other stations in North Cambridge. However, most travel between the two cities was by omnibus. The Cambridge Stage Company, which was the dominant firm, had sixteen coaches and 180 horses running on four routes in 1852. Another enterprise served East Cambridge.⁶

Let me pause here and try to lay a ghost. The statement is sometimes made that a street or at least a horse railway existed in Cambridge circa 1852, connecting Harvard Square with the Fitchburg Railroad at Union Square, Somerville.⁷ I have always considered that this was merely a slightly disguised description of the Harvard Branch Railroad,⁸ and nothing in my research for the present paper, which has been fairly laborious on this particular point, has

⁴ Upstream four additional bridges at or near the sites of the present Boston University, River Street, Western Avenue, and Larz Anderson bridges joined Cambridge with Brookline and Brighton.

⁵ Camb. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, 38:23-50.

⁶ On omnibuses, see articles in the *Cambridge Chronicle*, Jan. 31 and June 12, 1852, and Jan. 8, 1853, and schedules appearing regularly as advertisements. Two new omnibus lines opened in 1852, one on Broadway and one from Cambridge Crossing.

⁷ See Prentiss Cummings, "The Street Railway System of Boston," in *Professional and Industrial History of Suffolk County*, Boston, 1894, 3:286; "From Coach and Omnibus to Electric Car," *Boston Blue Bulletin* (Jan.-Feb. 1921), p. 8; Edward S. Mason, *The Street Railway in Massachusetts*, Cambridge, 1932, p. 3-4; and Camb. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, 38:50.

⁸ The Harvard Branch joined the Fitchburg not at Union Square, but at Park Street, well to the west. It ran primarily by steam, but at least considered using horses in its declining days (see Lovett, Camb. Hist. Soc., *Procs.*, 38:45) and may actually have done so. Although it may thus technically qualify as a horse railway, it was in no sense a street railway.

caused me to change this opinion. Therefore, unless corrected here tonight or in the near future, I will state in the published version of this paper that the first street railway to be built in Cambridge, and indeed as indicated above in New England and in the whole world apart from the banks of the East River, the Mississippi, and the Seine, was the Cambridge Railroad, incorporated in 1853 by Gardiner G. Hubbard, Charles C. Little, and Isaac Livermore. These men and a small group of associates, notable among whom was Dr. Estes Howe, are deeply intertwined with civic enterprise in Cambridge. Hubbard was the president and Howe the treasurer of the Harvard Branch Railroad. They were among the leading men in the Cambridge Gas Company, which was laying its mains in 1852, and the Cambridge Water Works, which began operations in 1855.⁹

A charter was one thing; an actual railway was another. Dr. Howe remarked long afterward, "As the money in the steam road had been lost, the people of Cambridge were very reluctant to take hold of a horse railroad."¹⁰ At length a construction contract was entered into with Gardner Warren, who took his pay in securities and went bankrupt doing the job.¹¹ By 1855 it was apparent that the capital of the Cambridge Railroad was going to be inadequate to equip and run the road, and a new corporation, the Union Railway Company, was formed for this purpose. As Henry W. Muzzey wrote a few

⁹ See *Report of the Joint Special Committee of the City Council upon the Cambridge Gas Company, the Horse-Railroad Company, and the Water-Works*, appended to an untitled memorial of the Union Railway Company to the City Council, dated March 1862. It is remarkable that two of the three incorporators of this local enterprise are, because of their other activities, included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*: Little as a publisher (of Little, Brown, and Company), and Hubbard primarily because of his subsequent connection with the telephone. Although this later involvement with a public utility undreamt of in the 1850's stems from a chain of circumstances quite unrelated to his earlier associations with the various Cambridge utilities, surely this experience must have served him in good stead.

¹⁰ *Report of the Hearings before the Cambridge Board of Aldermen on the Petition of the Charles River Street Railway Company* [1881], p. 124.

¹¹ *Debate in the Massachusetts Senate upon an Act to Incorporate the Cambridge Broadway Railroad Company, April 25, 1862*, Phonographic Report by W. Bachelier, Cambridge, 1862, p. 11; Henry W. Muzzey, *Argument before the Joint Committee on Street Railways of the Legislature, February 3, 1871*, Boston, 1871, p. 4; *Report of the Hearings . . .* [1881], p. 124.

years later, "People who declined to furnish money to build the road were found willing to take stock in a company to equip it. There was something tangible about horses, cars, and real estate."¹² A lease was executed, and the Union Railway Company hastened with its preparations, being anxious to open ahead of the Metropolitan.¹³

The Cambridge Railroad entered Bowdoin Square, Boston, via Cambridge Street, and left by a loop through Green and Chambers streets. It then ran down Cambridge Street, across the West Boston Bridge,¹⁴ through the entire length of Main Street (both the portion still known by that name and the part between Lafayette and Quincy squares which since 1894 has been a part of Massachusetts Avenue), along the south side of the College Yard (then Harvard Street, now also part of Massachusetts Avenue), through Harvard Square, and then out the entire length of Brattle Street to Mount Auburn, near the cemetery gate and the railroad station. A single track branch ran up North Avenue (now another part of Massachusetts Avenue) to Porter's Station.

By March 26, 1856, one track between Cambridgeport and West Cedar Street had reached such a state of readiness that trial trips could be run (charging no fares) with five cars purchased from the Brooklyn City Railroad which still bore such legends as "Greenwood Cemetery." Ice in Cambridge Street prevented running all the way up to Bowdoin Square. Two days later, both tracks were open and cars were running fairly regularly (still gratis) between Cambridgeport and North Grove Street.

First press reports were enthusiastic. "The cars are spacious and will seat comfortably twenty-four persons; the passage way through is sufficiently wide to accommodate as many more standing; and they run so smoothly that there is very little objection to riding in

¹² Muzzey, *Argument before the Joint Committee*, p. 5.

¹³ For a contemporary reaction to the construction, see *Letters of John Holmes to James Russell Lowell*, Boston, 1917, p. 17-18.

¹⁴ The bridge was extensively rebuilt in connection with the construction of the street railway. Both it and the Craigie Bridge became free bridges in 1858, approximately one-third of the money required to make them so having been subscribed by the street railway company. See *Report of the Cambridge Bridge Commission*, Boston, 1909, p. 12; Muzzey, *Argument before the Joint Committee*, p. 7.

this position. They are also well ventilated; and being lighted by large glass, afford a much better view of the beautiful scenery from our bridges and the other parts of the city than can be obtained in any other close carriage which we have ever seen on our streets. Fifty persons can be drawn in a car, by *two* horses, with more ease and comfort than can half that number in an omnibus, drawn by *four* horses.”¹⁵ The next week, however, there was a remonstrance signed “John Smith, Jr.” to the effect that the railway had wrought havoc with the streets it traversed, making them dangerous to drive upon. The editor acknowledged that the streets had not yet been put back into condition, but counted it a positive gain if the railway discouraged fast teams being driven too rapidly over the main streets. Two pro-railway letters answered John Smith, Jr., the next week.

By early April the cars were running from Bowdoin Square to Harvard Square, and by mid-month the branch to Porter’s Station was open. The Cambridge Street hill proved to be not a serious problem, at least in good weather. The *Chronicle* on April 12 reported: “It has been ascertained by experiment that two of the poorest horses owned by the company will take forty passengers in a car up the hill in Cambridge Street with ease.”¹⁶ By April 19 a total of fifteen cars, all from Brooklyn, were available, and sometime during the next week service to Mount Auburn began. At least on the inner part of the line, cars were running every seven and one-half minutes during most of the day. The last car from Boston left at 11:30 P.M.¹⁷ The first accident was reported on May 10: “One Donahoe, in attempting to get upon a car while in motion, fell and was slightly bruised.”¹⁸

The horse railway in Cambridge was a success from the start. Additional cars and horses were added to take care of the growing traffic. Extensions were not long in coming. The Waltham and Watertown Railroad built, and the Union Railway leased and op-

¹⁵ *Cambridge Chronicle*, March 29, 1856.

¹⁶ Nevertheless, it later became common practice to add a “hill horse” to assist cars up this hill.

¹⁷ *Cambridge Chronicle*, May 3, 1856.

¹⁸ *Annual Reports of the Railroad Corporations . . . 1856*, p. 282.

erated, a line from Mount Auburn to Watertown Village, or Watertown Square in today's terminology, in 1857.¹⁹ The North Avenue line was extended to the city limits, from where the West Cambridge Horse Railroad Company, also leased to and operated by the Union, ran to what is now Arlington Center. A line on River Street similarly connected with the Newton Railroad, which actually ran only in Brighton to Oak Square. A branch on Court Street and Third Street to East Cambridge opened in 1859. The company would have preferred to serve East Cambridge by a direct line to Boston over Bridge Street and the Craigie Bridge, but it met difficulty and delay in obtaining a location through the streets at the Boston end. Thus the Cambridge Street (Cambridge) line, when it was presently built, opened from the Harvard Square end first. When the Craigie Bridge entrance to Boston was made available, the company also expanded its service by another leasing arrangement into Somerville along Milk Street (Somerville Avenue) and Elm Street (skirting the Cambridge boundary) to Dover Street (Davis Square). In the early 1860's, an alternate line was established along Garden Street, Concord Avenue, and Craigie Street, and henceforth half of the Brattle Street cars used this route.

The running time from Harvard Square to Boston, three miles, was twenty-five minutes; to Mount Auburn, twelve minutes; and to Watertown, twenty-five minutes.²⁰ A century later, with faster vehicles but heavier traffic, the running time for trolley buses on the latter route is sixteen minutes.

The rules for drivers of the Union Railway provide interesting sidelights on operation. "8. You must walk your horses around all short curves, such as that in Harvard Square, and not stop upon them. Also walk your horses over the switches at the 'Port stables. 9. You must not allow any person to drive your horses or tend

¹⁹ The Fitchburg Railroad gave up passenger service on its Watertown branch on June 1 both because of the horse car competition and because the management was convinced of the inherent unprofitableness of branch lines. See *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Directors of the Fitchburg Railroad Company, January 26, 1858*, Boston, 1858, p. 12-14. The report suggests that the Waltham and Watertown was what later came to be called a "real estate road," promoted by persons anxious to sell Watertown land.

²⁰ Alexander Easton, *A Practical Treatise on Street or Horse-Power Railways*, Philadelphia, 1859, p. 104. Easton also gives the fare schedules in great detail, p. 98-99.

your brake, but those employed by the Company.²¹ . . . 13. When in Boston, you must look out for carriages coming in from the cross streets, and drive slow, not exceeding five miles per hour, at any point. And when coming down the hill, past North Russell street, not to exceed three miles per hour." One of the conductors' rules reveals a surprising possibility: "14. All obstructions upon the track, such as broken wagons, sleds, sleighs, &c. must be reported to the nearest agent of the road as soon as possible; also at the Office. The car must not be taken from the track to go round such obstructions if it can be avoided." Hose bridges, placed on the track to enable cars to cross fire hoses, were kept at the 'Port and at the Dunster Street stables. Another surprising relation with firefighting is disclosed by drivers' rule 20, which set a limit of five miles per hour when a fire engine was attached to the car.²²

The horse was of course a most important part of the horse railway. Muzzey asserted that the Union company furnished superior horses. It was early observed that car horses came to understand the conductor's bell, and needed no additional signal from the driver's reins to start or stop.

In the first years, the cars did not run on Sunday, and John Fiske reminisced that when he came to college in 1860, those who wished to visit Boston on a Sunday had to walk or take an omnibus "in which riding was a penance severe enough to atone for the sin."²³

The success of the Union Railway did not fail to inspire competition. A bill to incorporate the Cambridge Broadway Railroad passed the Massachusetts House but was defeated in the Senate in 1862. The hearings on this bill are instructive. The Cambridge Railroad and the Union Railway were accused of having watered stock and high fares. The answers made on this as on other occasions when the same accusations were brought were that unusual

²¹ At least in later years, this rule was not always strictly enforced. Two members of the audience testified to having been allowed to hold the reins as children. The other aspect of horse cars most vividly recollected in the discussion was the straw on the floor.

²² Easton, *Practical Treatise*, p. 104-106.

²³ Walter Gee Davis, ed., *Cambridge Fifty Years a City, 1846-1896*, Cambridge, 1897, p. 42.

inducements had been required to secure investors in what had been not merely a new but a new kind of enterprise; and that the Union, unlike the Metropolitan which was continually picking up and setting down way passengers in the busy main streets of Boston and Roxbury, had to contend with the long, unproductive bridge sections. Fares had their ups and downs, but during most of the 1860's and 1870's were eight cents or seventeen tickets for a dollar from Boston to Cambridgeport, ten cents or twelve for a dollar to Old Cambridge (which was reckoned as from Dana Street to Fayerweather Street), and fifteen cents with no ticket reduction to Mount Auburn. Checks or transfers were given, but were withdrawn at the time of the great epizootic of 1872, and not restored for several years.²⁴

Although the Cambridge Broadway Railroad had not received its charter, pressure for a horse railway in that direct and unencumbered street forced the Union to build it instead, prematurely in the opinion of that road's officers and also at a time (1863) when wartime inflation had trebled the price of hay and grain.²⁵

After the rapid building up of the network from 1856 to 1863, there ensued a long and fairly stable period of horse car operation. History, whether on the grand scale or the small, commonly shows alternations between times of stability and times of change, and we shall see this amply illustrated.

One change that did occur in this period was the widening of Brattle Street, heretofore a virtual country lane, to sixty feet, ordered December 14, 1870.²⁶ The presence of the horse cars was no doubt a factor in deciding on this ample width. The street was also straightened at this time and the railway was involved in considerable expense in moving its tracks.

Two new lines were built in the early 1870's, one on Prospect Street providing a better link between Cambridgeport and East Cambridge than the old Court Street line, which was closed down, and one on Pearl Street.

²⁴ Bachelier, Report of *Debate in the Massachusetts Senate*, *passim*; Muzzey, *Argument before the Joint Committee*.

²⁵ *Report of the Hearings* . . . [1881], p. 125-126.

²⁶ Lewis M. Hastings, "The Streets of Cambridge," *Camb. Hist. Soc., Procs.*, 14:42.

Let us try to visualize the service as it existed in 1875 by summarizing a schedule. Cars left Harvard Square every seven minutes throughout the day, and oftener in rush hours, for Bowdoin Square via Main Street. There was also half-hourly service to Bowdoin Square via Broadway, and to Scollay Square via Cambridge Street and East Cambridge. Outbound from Harvard Square, cars left for Mount Auburn via Brattle Street on the hour and half hour, the latter continuing to Watertown, and for Mount Auburn via Garden Street at quarter of and quarter after the hour. There were five cars an hour to North Cambridge, one of them continuing to Arlington (which had been known by this name since 1867). From Central Square, Cambridgeport, there was half-hourly service both to Brighton, and to Boston via Prospect Street and East Cambridge.²⁷

Until about 1880, all cars from Cambridge had terminated in Boston at Bowdoin Square, except for those over the Craigie Bridge which went in to Scollay Square, using a complicated route through Leverett, Causeway, Merrimac, and Chardon streets, returning via Haymarket Square and Merrimac, Lowell, and Brighton streets. Even then, these termini were well to the north of the places where most passengers wanted to go, and there was a long struggle to get permission from the Boston aldermen to run direct service from Cambridge to such central places as Tremont Street and the newer district around Park Square.²⁸ The first such concession that was obtained was a small one—two Brighton cars per hour were allowed after crossing the West Boston Bridge to turn down Charles Street to Park Square. Presumably the fact that Brighton was by this time a part of Boston had some bearing on the granting of the right to Brighton cars.

Such was the situation when in 1881 a new group of capitalists, headed by Charles E. Raymond, formed the Charles River Street Railway Company and projected an extensive network of new lines in Cambridge and Somerville. A leading feature of their scheme was better communication with the Back Bay, but they were evasive as to how they were going to get to Boston. They spoke of a new

²⁷ *Greenough's Cambridge Directory for 1875*, p. 496-497.

²⁸ *Report of the Hearings . . .* [1881], p. 4, 121.

bridge at a location they were not yet ready to divulge; one of their lines was to cross the Brookline Bridge; but also plainly in their minds was the hope of running into Boston over the tracks of the Union Railway, under the provisions of a general law passed in 1874.²⁹ For one railway to run over the tracks of another introduced possibilities of competition beyond the obvious. Each company would try to arrange its schedule so that its car was just ahead of the other's and would thus pick up the lion's share of the fares.

Despite the impractical or redundant character of many of the lines proposed, which we can see all too well from the vantage point of a time when even the best transit routes have difficulty in doing enough business to justify decent service at quiet hours, a great deal of antimonopoly sentiment favored the new enterprise. President Eliot testified in favor of it, as did Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson. The hearings before the Cambridge aldermen and the Legislature are worth rather extensive quotation, not so much for what they tell us of the Charles River project as for their many excellent vignettes of the general horse car scene. Many of the themes—crowding at rush hours and bunching of cars—are perennials in the history of local transportation.³⁰

Higginson spoke of his experience coming home to Cambridge in the late afternoon when he was in the Legislature: "Of those one hundred days, be they more or less, when I rode out in a Cambridge horse-car, I never once had a seat; never. Not on a solitary occasion did I have a seat all the way from Bowdoin Square to Harvard Square. The pressure upon the cars was so great, and the natural courtesy of members of the Legislature towards ladies is so great, that somebody always had to stand up, and I found myself always that somebody. I noticed that the young gentlemen of the University were often wearied by their excessive devotion to athletic exercises, and were not able to stand up to make room for ladies;

²⁹ Ch. 29, Sect. 12, Acts of 1874.

³⁰ A decade earlier William Dean Howells had been seriously concerned about overcrowding and the failure of men to give up their seats to women. His remarks on the sociology of the horse car are penetrating. See "By Horse-Car to Boston," *Atlantic Monthly*, 25:114-122 (Jan. 1870).

and consequently I, not being directly in the athletic line, was able to do it."³¹

L. M. Child, attorney for the old company, asserted that it was running a car a minute in rush hour around Bowdoin Square loop, and that the insistence of everyone to be on the first car caused much of the trouble. "I leave it to you that if there stand three cars in Bowdoin Square to-night, and there are sixty passengers to go in them, if there won't be forty passengers in the first car and ten passengers apiece in the other two? The American people are a remarkable people, and they will go out by the first car if they have to hang on by their eyelids."³² Dr. Alexander McKenzie, pastor of the Shepard Church, said there was no satisfactory place to wait for a car: "We have no station in Boston. We have either to impose on the friendly apothecary, or stand in the street, or else go into the candy shop on the other side, on the corner of Chardon Street. There is no suitable or respectable place for a person to wait in for a horse car."³³ He maintained the point in cross examination. "Q. Don't you think that if they would separate themselves and take the cars going to the several sections of the city, it would have an effect in reducing the crowd? A. I think it would have some effect, but there is no place to wait unless in the apothecary store or on the corner of the street. Q. There is a place on the other side, isn't there? A. I don't think there is a fit place for a lady to go into. There is a candy shop on one side, and a row of seats on the other that are almost always full. I don't know what other arrangements they have. I think it is an imposition on this apothecary to fill his store. Q. There is room enough in the station without going into the apothecary store, is there not? A. When I go in there the seats are always full, and there is a crowd of people around the

³¹ Charles River Street Railway Company, *Petition to the . . . General Court* [1882], p. 46.

³² *Report of the Hearings . . .* [1881], p. 158, 159. Muzzey had similar comments in 1871, particularly as to Cambridgeport or Cambridge passengers crowding the through cars for Watertown and Arlington rather than taking the special short-run cars intended for them (*Argument before the Joint Committee*, p. 16). Senator Dodge in the Broadway hearings of 1862 had said: "It has not been uncommon to see a car go out with the people crowding upon it like bees about the entrance of a hive" (Bachelier, *Report of Debate in the Massachusetts Senate*, p. 10).

³³ Charles River Street Railway Co., *Petition*, p. 70.

door. It is a very narrow store, and people are buying their candy and newspapers. I should be very unwilling to take a lady in there, and almost as unwilling to go in myself."³⁴ Such was waiting for a street car in 1882.

Apart from the natural objections of the Union Railway, and the fears of Professor John S. Trowbridge that a proposed line on Oxford Street would interfere with the projected physical laboratory — plans to put it on the Holmes lot had had to be given up because of the vibrations from the North Avenue cars³⁵ — the main theme of those who opposed the Charles River scheme was that street railways interfered with driving. Opposition on narrow Inman Street was particularly strong: "Grant the location through this street, and we cannot have a carriage stop at our doors," said Theodore C. Hurd.³⁶ Magazine Street was wider, but L. H. Sanborn still protested: "I think the driving public of Cambridge and the vicinity should have a little show for themselves. . . . The driving public want one avenue to get out of Ward Four without any interruption."³⁷ J. H. Roberts said that Oxford Street was "the only avenue where there is not a track, and the only street, it seems to me, where we can really drive with any safety."³⁸ Linn B. Porter, editor and owner of the *Cambridge Chronicle*, said that the plan to put tracks on Mount Auburn Street "proposes to ruin the one long avenue to the cemeteries which is now free from obstruction; and whom will this line accommodate? . . . the poorest part of the population . . . where a street railway is about the only thing they don't need."³⁹ Expressing doubt as to the feasibility of entering Boston from the Cottage Farm over Brighton Avenue (now a part of Commonwealth Avenue), a route that was also criticized as being very indirect, Theodore C. Hurd said, "When you get that location, in the faces of those who own high steppers along that street, let me

³⁴ Same, p. 75-76.

³⁵ *Report of the Hearings* . . . [1881], p. 55.

³⁶ Same, p. 47.

³⁷ Same, p. 65, 66.

³⁸ Same, p. 76.

³⁹ Same, p. 77. Phoneticians as well as social historians will find additional comment of interest on this poor district in Charles River Street Railway Co., *Petition*, p. 48, 53.

know it.”⁴⁰ Jabez Fox also objected: “We do not want to be disturbed by the noise of a line of jangling, clattering, and rumbling horse-cars running by our front doors and under our front windows.”⁴¹ Snow removal by the horse car company in winter, far from being regarded as a civic service, was considered a curse by those who used sleighs: “You know how much Brookline bridge is used for private travel, particularly in the winter when the long bridge is rendered practically impassable by the horse-cars for sleighs. Now, sir, when they lay out their new tracks, you will have to sell your sleighs.”⁴²

In reply to all this, E. B. Hale, attorney for the Charles River Company, said “horse-cars are the carriages of the common people.” He added that many remonstrate before they are built, but that “I never knew a man to advertise his place on the line of a horse railroad for sale who did not mention that as one of the strong reasons why it should sell.”⁴³ The fair-minded Colonel Higginson, who lived on Buckingham Street and personally preferred not to have rails on Mount Auburn Street because of inconvenience in driving, made a balanced statement in the later hearing: “I think horse cars almost always injure a street. . . . But so few people own vehicles, and so many people travel by horse cars, that the convenience of the few in that respect ought to be sacrificed to the public good.”⁴⁴

The Charles River Railway received many of the locations requested and started building in the fall of 1881. The first lines constructed were those centering on Inman Square. Then, building on Columbia Street, the new company came into collision with the Union Railway. At Lafayette Square there was tearing up of track, and an injunction.⁴⁵ The city of Cambridge had granted a location through Brookline Street, but it was found that, as had been predicted by opponents, Boston would not permit access to

⁴⁰ *Report of the Hearings* . . . [1881], p. 48.

⁴¹ Same, p. 30.

⁴² Same, p. 31.

⁴³ Same, p. 165-166.

⁴⁴ Charles River Street Railway Co., *Petition*, p. 49.

⁴⁵ Same, p. 10; *Cambridge Tribune*, Dec. 30, 1881, p. 8.

the city at the opposite end of the bridge. The Charles River Company went to the Legislature to obtain access at least to the Boston and Albany's Cottage Farm station.⁴⁶

The Charles River Railway first reached Harvard Square via a line on Kirkland Street, originally a shuttle requiring a transfer at Washington and Beacon streets, Somerville. By 1883, there was through service from Harvard Square via Kirkland, Beacon, and Hampshire streets and the West Boston Bridge to Park Square, Boston. And by 1884, the Charles River had completed its road through back streets paralleling the main line of the Union. Leaving Harvard Square on Boylston Street, it ran over Mount Auburn Street to Putnam Avenue, then down one block to Green Street, which narrow way it followed to Central Square. Passing through Central Square on Main Street—some maps suggest on its own second pair of tracks, but this is not clearly established—it turned up Columbia Street to Hampshire Street and in to Broadway, and then over the tracks of the Cambridge Railroad (which about this time started operating under its own name) to Bowdoin Square. This line was most unprofitable for obvious reasons.

Meantime, the Cambridge Railroad built lines to Brighton both on Western Avenue and on Boylston and North Harvard streets, meeting at Barry's Corner. It also succeeded in expanding its Back Bay service. In 1882 there were four cars an hour and the limitation to cars from Brighton was removed. By 1885 the old Court or Third Street line had been reopened so that Somerville cars could reach the Charles Street route.

The Cambridge Railroad absorbed the Charles River Railway on October 30, 1886. The Green Street line was reduced to half-hourly service at rush hours only. The Kirkland Street-Park Square line ran all day, but only once an hour.⁴⁷

The winds of change continued to blow more strongly and in 1887 the Cambridge Railroad itself was absorbed, along with nearly all the other street railways in the Boston area, into the

⁴⁶ Charles River Street Railway Co., *Petition*, p. 1-14.

⁴⁷ George Coolidge, *Boston Horse Car Routes and Transits*, 3d edn., Boston, 1887.

West End Street Railway.⁴⁸ For the first time a comprehensive transportation system for greater Boston was in sight. The question was, with what motive power? Horse cars were having a hard time keeping up with the transportation needs of the growing cities. Many mechanical substitutes for the horse were suggested and tried in various places, including such oddities as compressed air and ammonia gas engines. The three most important were steam, cable, and electricity—the last still in its infancy. Although steam trams operated successfully in many places for many years, the courts had ruled against their use in Massachusetts.⁴⁹ However, unlikely as it may seem to those who now associate this form of transportation exclusively with the steep hills of San Francisco, Cambridge very nearly had cable cars.

Cars hauled by an endless cable running continuously under the street, which they grip through a slot and release at will, were introduced on the hills of San Francisco in 1873, and survive only there. However, the ability of the cable to pull cars at a constant speed substantially faster than the horse, to absorb great fluctuations in load, and to obviate the increasing stable-labor problems of the horse car led it to be rather widely used, especially in the 1880's and early 1890's, even where its unique hill-climbing ability was not needed. New York, Washington, Chicago, St. Louis, and Denver were among the cities which had extensive cable networks largely on level streets. The essential requirement was enough traffic to warrant the very heavy capital cost of installing the special cable track and machinery. This the Cambridge Main Street line had to an eminent degree, and to those familiar with the street railway situation at the time it must have come as no surprise to read in the *Street Railway Journal* for January 1888, that Henry M. Whitney, the obviously progressive president of the new West End Street Railway Company, proposed to adopt the cable system

⁴⁸ See Louis P. Hager, ed., *History of the West End Street Railway*, Boston, [1891]. One product of the merger was the through route—cars which did not terminate in Boston proper but went on through to another outlying district. The first of these from Cambridge went to North Point (or City Point) in South Boston.

⁴⁹ See legal discussion in the article entitled "Electrics Threatened," *Cambridge Tribune*, May 26, 1894.

for Washington Street, Boston, and the line to Harvard Square, Cambridge. "The estimated cost of the system is between \$600,000 and \$1,000,000. The topography of Cambridge, it is said, is best suited for the use of a system like that at present used in Chicago, on account of the great number of branch or spur tracks running from different parts of the city into Main Street. In this system a grip car runs over the direct line, and connections are made with it from the branch routes by means of horses. When the main line is reached, the horses are detached, and when the grip comes along, it picks up the cars and conveys them to their destination at a greatly increased rate of speed."⁵⁰

In April it was reported that the West End had asked the Boston and Cambridge city councils for permission to run by cable. Experts from Chicago and Kansas City had testified in Boston. The May report said that it had been definitely decided to build the experimental cable route in Cambridge; power would be derived from automatic cut off engines placed near Harvard Square, and an inch and a quarter diameter cable of Roebling manufacture would be used. By June the Thomson-Houston Company was proposing to put electric cars on the lines from Harvard Square to Arlington and to Watertown and Newton as feeders to the projected cable line.

In the July issue the first note of doubt appears; the Cambridge authorities wanted to try the overhead electric system, in other words, the trolley, first, and by August the cable bubble had burst. What had happened was this: while electric railways had been in existence for several years, they had not yet demonstrated their capacity for reliable handling of heavy city traffic.⁵¹ The first installation to do so was that made by Frank J. Sprague in Richmond, Virginia, in January 1888. Whitney visited this and another new electric road at Allegheny City, Pennsylvania (now a part of Pittsburgh), in early June. He realized that the electric system had come of age, and he resolved to adopt it.⁵² This was an important turning point not only in Boston but in world transit history, since

⁵⁰ *Street Railway Journal*, 4:24 (Jan. 1888).

⁵¹ It might almost be said that they were still in the same league with ammonia gas.

⁵² *Street Railway Journal*, 4:206-207 (Aug. 1888).

the West End was the first really large property to take the Richmond lesson to heart.

Though the Cambridge line had had the first horse cars, and was the choice for the cable installation which was never carried out, the lines to Brookline and Allston (including one of the few routes over which trolleys still operate today) were chosen for the first electrification. Whitney announced his change of heart to the Brookline selectmen on July 18; Sprague was chosen as the contractor and cars began to be operated by electricity on New Year's Day, 1889.

Cambridge came next, and not far behind. This contract was awarded to the rival Thomson-Houston Company, which had twenty electric cars running between Bowdoin and Harvard squares on February 16, 1889.⁵³ Electrification proved highly successful and was soon after extended up North Avenue, where at first the electric cars stopped only at fixed points about a quarter of a mile apart.

Some horse car lines, including the one on Kirkland Street and that from Harvard Square to Barry's Corner, were quietly dropped. The other lines were electrified with moderate rapidity in the early 1890's, the conspicuous exception being Brattle Street, to which we will return in a moment.

Many of the first electric cars were rebuilt horse cars—sometimes two horse car bodies were spliced together—but experiments in larger rolling stock were not long in coming. The most interesting of these was a double decked car which was tried out on the Main Street and North Avenue lines for about forty days in the winter of 1891–1892. Built by the Pullman Palace Car Company, using the patents of E. C. Sessions, this car had a number of unusual features. The entrance was in the center, and four stairways led to the four sections of the canopied upper deck (front and back on left and right) which did not directly communicate with each other. To obviate the problem that would arise if someone climbed to a section that was full even though others had space, an electric seating diagram was provided on the lower deck, showing the state of oc-

⁵³ *Cambridge Tribune*, Feb. 16 and 23, 1889.

cupancy above. One of the most unusual features was that the driver's compartments were on the upper deck. This car was a model of elegance, "the inside finish being mahogany, with quartered oak, decorated ceiling. The glass in the windows is crystal sheet, while that in the doors is French plate embossed. Mirrors are placed on the upper deck and on each side of the doors. The car is provided with spring seats and backs, covered with tapestry."⁵⁴

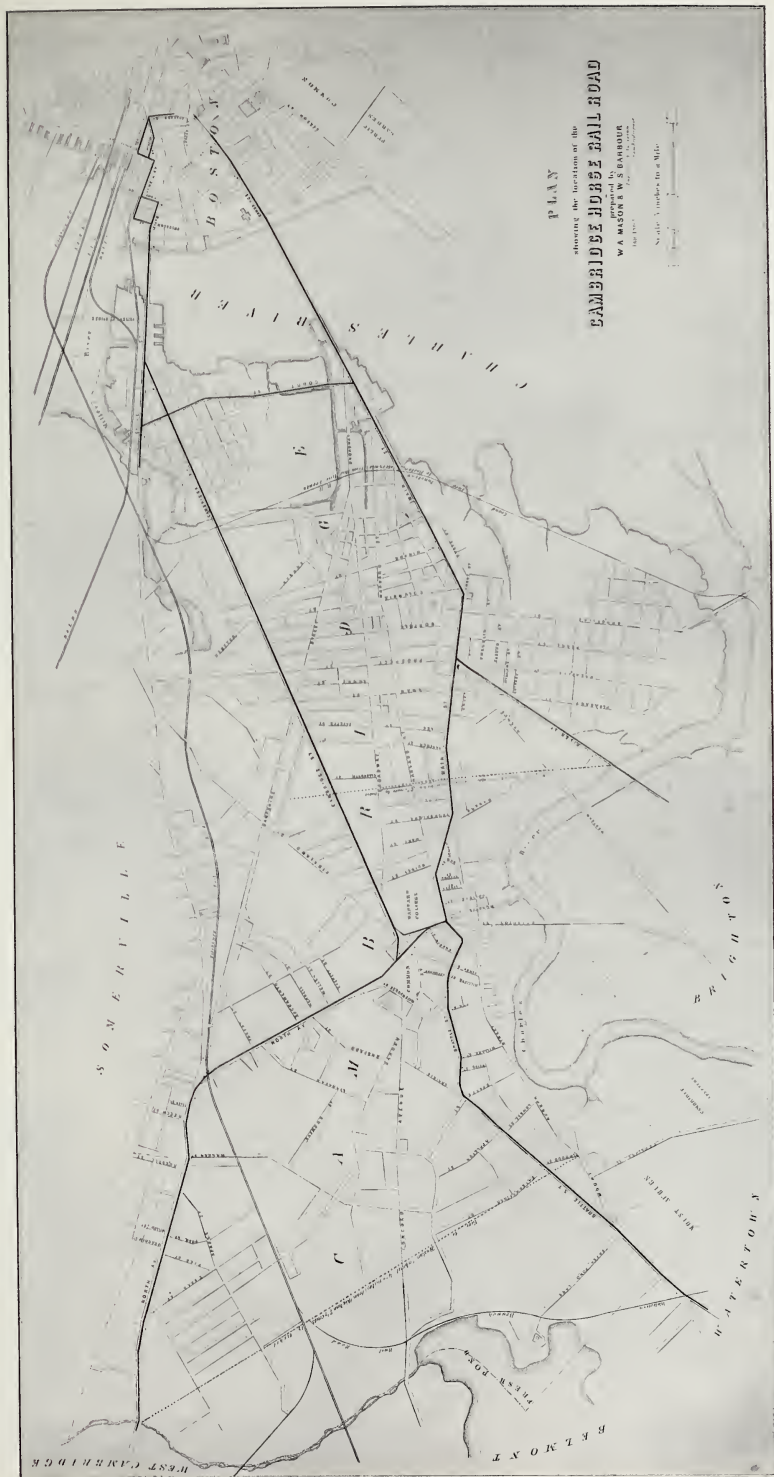
Curiosity riding on the double decker was heavy—some of the figures on loads carried are almost unbelievable—and first reports were that the car was a success. However, at the end of the trial period it was returned to the manufacturer. It later saw service in Louisville and in Tiffin, Ohio, where it ended its days sometime after the turn of the century.⁵⁵

The Harvard Bridge opened September 1, 1891, without transit service, but an electric line over it was opened in 1893. This finally gave Cambridge a direct connection with the outer part of the Back Bay. From the first, cars turned down Boylston Street; later, through service to Roxbury was also established. Another innovation at the beginning of 1894 was the Cambridge Circuit line, which described a figure 8 from Riverside through Putnam Avenue, Pearl Street, Central and Harvard squares, and Cambridge, Prospect, and River streets.

In the meantime, the great question was what to do about Brattle Street. Since 1889 the cars from the west had continued to use Main Street along with the electric cars, which of course meant that once an electric car came up behind a horse car, it could go no faster than the latter. "The Brattle Street horse cars are in the way of all the other cars," said the *Cambridge Chronicle* in an editorial on May 27, 1893, urging that the residents of Brattle Street withdraw their objections to poles and wires and the noise of heavier cars in the interest of the convenience of the larger community.

⁵⁴ *Street Railway Journal*, 7:603 (Nov. 1891). Illustrations of the car appear in Hager, ed., *West End Street Railway*, facing p. 60 and 73.

⁵⁵ William H. Watts II, *A History of Double-Deck Electric Railway Cars . . . in the United States of America* [Central Electric Railfans' Association, Bulletin 57], Chicago, 1944, p. 5. Although reminiscences of the double-deck car were particularly invited from the audience, none were forthcoming.



Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society

MAP OF THE CAMBRIDGE HORSE RAILROAD BY MASON AND BARBOUR IN 1862



Courtesy of Harvard University Archives

TROLLEYS IN HARVARD SQUARE AROUND 1890



Author's collection

CAR NO. 724, SPLICED CAR BUILT IN 1893 FROM TWO HORSE CARS, AT HARVARD STATION IN 1955

The North Avenue people had also objected to the trolley, but would not now think of returning to the horse car. There was some interest in putting storage battery cars on Brattle Street, but this project came to nought. A Brattle Street resident suggested that a simple solution would be to run the horse cars only to Harvard Square and let the passengers transfer to electric cars; it was alleged that two thirds transferred anyway to Park Square cars (the Brattle cars went to Bowdoin Square).⁵⁶ If Brattle Street alone had been involved, this solution might have satisfied everyone for several years, and the Brattle Street horse cars might even have outlived those on Marlborough Street, Boston, which ran until Christmas Eve, 1900. However, there were Watertown and Newton to be considered. Certainly these people did not want to come from their greater distance by the slow-moving horse cars. The solution adopted was to put trolley cars on Mount Auburn Street instead. By the end of 1893, horse cars were running only from Harvard Square to Mount Auburn, the line west of the latter point having been electrified, requiring a double transfer for through passengers, electric to horse to electric. Trolley cars began running through on Mount Auburn Street, Cambridge, on May 17, 1894,⁵⁷ but the horse cars on Brattle Street via Garden Street could not be given up until the new electric line being built on Concord and Huron avenues was ready. Installation of overhead wires on the latter was delayed by legal action, and an interim plan was worked out. "On and after July 28 the horsecars now running on Brattle street will be transferred to the Concord and Huron avenue line, running to Fresh Pond lane. This will furnish service pending the settlement of the injunction case on the use of the trolley system."⁵⁸ Little attention was given in the press to the fading away of horse cars on Brattle Street, which to us seems an event of considerable interest. The legal problems on Concord Avenue were resolved later in the year and electric cars started running as far as Fresh Pond Lane on November 17.⁵⁹ With the later extension on Aberdeen Avenue, and the opening in 1898

⁵⁶ *Cambridge Chronicle*, June 3, 1893.

⁵⁷ *Cambridge Tribune*, May 19, 1894.

⁵⁸ Same, July 21, 1894; see also May 26, 1894.

⁵⁹ Same, Nov. 17, 1894.

of the Waverley line on Belmont Street, the Cambridge trolley network practically reached its ultimate extent, although the Belmont Centre line which skirted the Cambridge boundary along Grove Street did not open until 1906.

Meanwhile in Boston extreme congestion had led to the building of the Tremont Street subway, the first in America, which opened September 1, 1897. The first car to enter the new subway—an open car, it may be added—came from Allston and Cambridge via River Street, Putnam Avenue, Pearl Street, and the Harvard Bridge, one of the many now improbable appearing route combinations which flourished during the height of the trolley era. Again Cambridge played its bit in transit history. For many years cars continued to operate from the Park Street subway station out Boylston Street and over the Harvard Bridge to Central and Harvard squares and other destinations in and beyond Cambridge.⁶⁰ Though an indirect route from Park Street compared with the present subway, the service to many points in between was convenient.

The year 1897 is also noteworthy for the lease of the West End to the Boston Elevated Railway. On the local scene, the Harvard power station on the present site of Eliot House was built in this year.⁶¹

The next fifteen years were the trolley era par excellence. The electric car, although not much faster than the horse car in the crowded central districts where congestion rather than the speed of which the vehicle was capable was the limiting factor,⁶² speeded up as it reached outlying districts and increased the distance from work which it was practicable to live.⁶³ Outside the cities, the growing network of country trolleys and interurbans opened up

⁶⁰ The electric indicator board which was installed in 1899 to reduce confusion on the east side of the southbound platform at Park Street listed twenty-seven routes, ten of which operated to or through Cambridge (*Fifth Annual Report of the Boston Transit Commission*, Boston, 1899, plate 1).

⁶¹ *Street Railway Journal*, 13:856 (Dec. 1897).

⁶² See map in same, 14:475 (Sept. 1898).

⁶³ The role played by horse car and trolley in changing Boston from a "pedestrian city" in 1850 to a "suburban metropolis" in 1900 is described by Sam B. Warner, Jr., in *Streetcar Suburbs*, Cambridge, 1962. While Warner chose Roxbury, West Roxbury, and Dorchester for detailed study, many of his observations apply also to Cambridge.

new recreational possibilities. The following quotation, though not bearing directly on Cambridge, calls back an era that has vanished as quickly as it rose so well that I cannot refrain from including it: "Special cars will be provided for Hampton Beach or Salisbury Beach, or Revere Beach Reservation from Arlington Heights, Waltham, Lexington or Concord on application by telephone or letter to Superintendent of Lexington & Boston St. Ry. Co., Lexington, Mass."⁶⁴ It was just thirteen years since the first trolley car had operated in Massachusetts.

In 1899 General William A. Bancroft, who had been superintendent of the Cambridge Railroad as early as 1885 and mayor of Cambridge from 1893 to 1896, became president of the Boston Elevated. Bancroft lived at 12 Ware Street, and for years his private car, number 101, kept at North Cambridge car house, was often seen picking him up on Broadway. This car is now a part of a restaurant in Foxboro; some will rejoice that it has been preserved at all, while others will be reminded of the line, "Oh, better that her shattered hulk."

Though trackage was complete, routes continued to proliferate: North Cambridge to Dudley Street, Harvard Square to Bay View, Harvard Square to Park Street via Cottage Farm, and so on. Around 1910 there was an "Historic Boston Trolley Trip" from Park Square twice a day in good weather, which of course included Cambridge in its rounds.

To provide proper background for the next great change, the Cambridge subway, we must retrace our path a good many years. The Tremont Street subway had taken conventional trolley cars off the street and put them underground for a short distance, freeing them and other street traffic from reciprocal delays. Only so many cars per hour could be run through it, however. There was need for a train service with higher capacity, greater speed, quicker loading, and longer distances between stops—in short, rapid transit. Steam operated elevated railways had operated in New York since 1871, and were proposed for Boston as early as 1879. However, the first scheme on which the Legislature looked with favor was that of

⁶⁴ Katharine M. Abbott, *Twentieth Century Trolley Trips*, Boston, 1901, p. 122.

the Meigs Elevated Railway Company, which was incorporated in 1884 and authorized to build a line between Bowdoin Square and Cambridge.⁶⁵ We come here to one of the most fascinating byways in transit history, which there is not time to cover adequately tonight. Suffice it to say, very briefly, that Captain Joe V. Meigs had designed an unconventional steam railway with horizontal driving wheels whose adhesion depended on pressure rather than weight, combined with diagonal supporting wheels. He built a demonstration line, including steep grades and sharp curves, at 225 Bridge Street, East Cambridge, but was unable to obtain financing.⁶⁶ The Boston Elevated Railway was incorporated in 1894 and authorized to build various elevated routes, including one in Cambridge using Green and Mount Auburn streets to avoid Main Street as the Charles River Street Railway had done a decade earlier.⁶⁷ In 1895 the new company bought the Meigs franchise, and by its lease of the West End in 1897, it assured that any rapid transit facilities which it built would be operated as an integrated system with the surface lines.

Rapid transit plans were still only formative and subject to frequent change, but it was evident that any form of rapid transit to Cambridge would require a new bridge. The Cambridge Bridge Commission was formed in 1898 and in 1900 secured permission to build a drawless span. A temporary bridge south of the old West Boston Bridge was completed in October 1899 and the old bridge removed. Work began on the new bridge in 1900, and it was ready for use in 1906. A center fenced-off section was reserved for rapid transit tracks, while the regular trolley tracks were outside the fence in the roadway at either side. Meanwhile public sentiment against elevated railways had hardened, and a subway was planned instead. Since the Charles River Dam was also built during this period, it turned out that the Cambridge Bridge, which was designed to carry an elevated railway over a tidal stream, actually carried subway trains over fresh water.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Ch. 87, Acts of 1884.

⁶⁶ See Joe V. Meigs, *The Meigs Railway*, Boston, 1887.

⁶⁷ Ch. 548, Sect. 6, Acts of 1894.

⁶⁸ *Report of the Cambridge Bridge Commission*, Boston, 1909, p. 14-40. For three weeks

Unlike the subways in Boston, which were built by the Boston Transit Commission and rented to the operating company, the Cambridge subway was built by the Boston Elevated Railway. In its planning, one of the main questions was the number of intermediate stations, proposals ranging from only one (at Central Square) to as many as five. Agitation for a station at Dana Street was particularly strong.⁶⁹ The subway was conceived as a high speed facility to serve primarily transfer passengers, and it was finally decided to have intermediate stations only at Kendall and Central squares, giving the unusually long spacing of 1.27 miles from Park Street to Kendall Square. The station at Harvard Square, with its four ramps connecting platforms for inbound and outbound subway trains with those for trolley cars from and for the west and north, was a most ingenious feat of planning.⁷⁰ Actual construction of the subway began in Cambridge in July 1909, and it opened from Park Street to Harvard Square on March 23, 1912, beginning, as the *Electric Railway Journal* said, "a new transportation era for the suburban cities and towns lying at the west of the New England capital."⁷¹ Cars for the new subway were unusually long, 69 feet 2½ inches, eighteen feet longer than contemporary New York subway cars. Door placement was also novel; there were doors at the center of each third of the car, a great improvement on the conventional placement of the end doors at the extreme end.⁷²

The subway in Cambridge has changed little since its opening in 1912. The original cars are still running, supplemented by more of similar type necessitated by extension at the other end. Changes in Harvard station belong more to the surface story,⁷³ and the sale of

following a fire on the temporary bridge in October 1904, trolley passengers had to change cars and walk across the short burned section. The Charles River Dam went into operation on October 20, 1908.

⁶⁹ *Electric Railway Journal*, 31:763 (May 2, 1908); 32:183-184 (June 27, 1908).

⁷⁰ See same, 39:784, 787 (May 11, 1912) for plans and sections.

⁷¹ Same, p. 782. The combined population of Arlington, Belmont, and Watertown rose 73 per cent in the decade 1910-1920, to a large extent as a result of the Cambridge subway.

⁷² Same, 39:58-61 (Jan. 13, 1912).

⁷³ The loading platform for North Cambridge, Arlington, and Huron Avenue was lengthened in 1922-1923 and provided with an electric indicator showing at what berth

the Cambridge subway to the Commonwealth in 1920 (to obtain capital for various projects outside Cambridge) made no tangible difference to the rider. Outside of Cambridge, of course, change was extensive. The line was pushed eastward and southward a station at a time, as a regular subway as far as Andrew Square, which was reached in 1918, and on the surface (although in part roofed over) along the right of way of the Old Colony Railroad and its Shawmut branch, reaching Ashmont in 1928. Charles station was added in 1932. The Cambridge-Dorchester subway remains a high capacity, efficient line, which is due to be rejuvenated by new cars about to be delivered,⁷⁴ and may possibly be extended further to the south and even conceivably to the north and west if some of the plans perennially discussed ever come to fruition.

With the coming of the subway, transit service to Cambridge assumed a new pattern. Instead of taking a direct but slow car from any one of a considerable variety of points in Boston to a particular part of Cambridge, the tendency now was to take the Cambridge subway from Park Street (or, later, Washington Street or South Station) and transfer at one of the Cambridge stations, most often Harvard Square.

The East Cambridge viaduct was also opened in 1912, but at first cars from Bridge and Cambridge streets ran over it without requiring a transfer at Lechmere Square. The Boylston Street subway was completed in 1914, and Harvard Bridge cars no longer turned down Boylston Street. Lechmere became a transfer station in 1922 and the East Boston tunnel (which had carried trolley cars from Cambridge through Scollay Square to East Boston since 1916) was converted to third rail operation in 1924, virtually completing the transition to a system of rapid transit with transfers to feeders.

Cars as well as routes were changing. Larger and heavier types

cars for the various destinations would stop, and, in the case of the Arlington cars, whether they were limited or "all stops." The head house (originally a substantial brick building designed to harmonize with the college buildings) was rebuilt early in 1928 as a much smaller and partially transparent structure to improve visibility for motorists—an early sacrifice to the automobile god. See *Co-operation* (Boston Elevated Railway), May 1928.

⁷⁴ The new cars started going into service in May 1963.

were introduced on the routes feeding into Harvard subway. Some of the older cars were rebuilt into articulated or "snake" cars, to increase capacity without increasing crew. Open cars were seldom seen in Cambridge after the summer of 1917.

The early post-subway era saw the only regular appearance of foreign cars, that is, cars of other companies, in the streets of Cambridge. Through cars of the Middlesex and Boston Street Railway ran from Harvard subway to Lexington, Bedford, Billerica, and Lowell.⁷⁵ The Waltham cars of the same company also came into Central Square for a time in 1914-1915.⁷⁶

The first World War, with its inflation, was hard on street railways; in 1918 the Boston Elevated came under public control. As one economy measure, the small one-man Birney safety car was introduced, first on Broadway and later on other routes, including Belmont Centre and Central-Porter via Inman Square. While the one-man feature was later introduced on all cars except the center entrance type, the Birney car (which became the standard in many small cities) never really caught on in Boston, and the last was taken off in 1929.

The 1920 report of the public trustees of the Elevated for the first time mentions the force that was to make a shambles of the transit industry: "No one observing the multitude of automobiles that choke the streets leading to the business center of Boston in the morning and at night can fail to appreciate the serious nature of the competition between that form of transportation and the street railway."⁷⁷

Not long after, the motor bus began to supplant some of the minor street car lines, especially those whose track was worn out and not worth rebuilding in view of lessened use. The first such abandonment in Cambridge was of the Cottage Farm line in 1924. Broadway and River Street followed in 1925, Spring Hill in 1926, Belmont Centre in 1928, and Prospect Street in 1930.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ *Trolley Wayfinder*, Boston, 1913, p. 71.

⁷⁶ Information from Mr. Charles A. Duncan, Danvers, Mass.

⁷⁷ *Third Report of the Trustees of the Boston Elevated Railway Company*, Boston, 1920, p. 12.

⁷⁸ When track on Cambridge Street in Boston was abandoned at the end of 1925 as

When rail abandonments, now beginning to touch some more important routes, resumed after a few years, they were in favor of a new vehicle, the trolley bus or trackless trolley, which was introduced on Cambridge Street in 1936 and on Huron Avenue in 1938 (the latter after an interim year of gasoline buses). The Somerville lines which entered East Cambridge for a few blocks were converted to trackless trolley in 1941.

Street cars did yeoman service throughout the second World War, carrying crowds swelled by gas rationing and the increased labor force. As the war ended it appeared that modernization would take two principal forms—trackless trolleys on most lines, with streamlined street cars on a few trunk routes. The streamlined cars were introduced on the Lechmere-Subway line during the war, but their first appearance on the streets of Cambridge came in a rather improbable place, on the least important of the rail lines then surviving. The Metropolitan Transit Authority took over from the Boston Elevated Railway on August 29, 1947, and immediately began sending some of the new cars from Watertown car house to Central Square at hours when they were not all needed on the Watertown-Subway line.

In September 1949 the Harvard Bridge was closed for extensive rebuilding without tracks, bringing an end to street car service from Harvard Square to Massachusetts Station.⁷⁹ The Watertown-Central cars on Western Avenue were taken off in 1950. The main Cambridge trolley lines, those passing through the Harvard subway to North Cambridge and Arlington on the north, and to Watertown and Waverley on the west, seemed for a time to have a brighter future. The years 1951–1954 were definitely a period of trolley improvement on these busy routes. The streamlined cars were introduced in April 1951, and were providing the base or non-

part of the Northern Artery development, the all-night service substituting for the Cambridge subway during its hours of closure was changed from car to bus. See *Co-operation*, July 1932, p. 111.

⁷⁹ For one week only cars continued to run from Harvard Square to a temporary crossover which was asphalted in place in front of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Then the Harvard service ceased, but Watertown cars were extended from Central Square to this crossover throughout the time the bridge was closed.

rush service on the Arlington Heights-Watertown run by June.⁸⁰ The new cars, unlike all the older Boston cars, were single ended, or designed to operate in one direction only; therefore they could not be used on lines such as Waverley, which at that time terminated in a stub-end crossover, nor be turned back at Arlington Center, which also lacked facilities for turning cars around.

The first of these disabilities was removed by the construction of a loop at Waverley Square, Belmont, in 1953 in connection with the depression of the Boston & Maine tracks at that point. Curiously enough, only double ended cars used the new loop for the first fifteen months, although additional modern cars from South Boston had been transferred to Cambridge. Finally, the Waverley line received its new cars in September 1954, and the modernization of the rail lines had reached its peak.

Discordant notes were not long in appearing. In January 1955 the City of Cambridge opened a campaign against the safety islands in Massachusetts Avenue, and in February the MTA began testing diesel buses on this run. In November the axe fell: the Arlington car line was cut back to North Cambridge and even this was operated by buses in the late evening. The remaining steps—closing of surface tracks through Harvard Square, giving of all Sunday service by bus, earlier evening hour of changeover to buses on North Cambridge, and inclusion of the Mount Auburn lines in this practice, beginning of work on trackless trolley wire, and opening of trackless service to Belmont Street and Trapelo Road side by side with the street cars all followed in quick succession between the summer of 1956 and June 1958.⁸¹

During these last years, when even the oldest cars used in passenger service dated from the 1920's, a remarkable link with the past was often seen in Cambridge streets. Car number 724 was what

⁸⁰ *E. R. A. Headlights*, June 1951, p. 2, and July 1951, p. 3.

⁸¹ Positive notes were not lacking even in these last years. The trolleys distinguished themselves by keeping going better than buses in the heavy snowstorms of March 1956. A rebuilding of the Mount Auburn bridge at the divergence of the Watertown and Waverley lines was carried out from May to October 1956. The successive closing of each of the four tracks gave Cambridge trolley aficionados a last fling at photographing the unusual. The bridge at Porter Square had also been rebuilt in 1955.

was called a 20-foot spliced car, built by the West End Street Railway in 1893 from two horse cars, and its conversion to a rail grinder made little change in its external appearance. It continued to do its work of smoothing the rails almost to the end.

On Friday, September 5, 1958, car 5727, the 7:56 P.M. from Watertown, and 5579, the 8:02 from Waverley to North Cambridge, were the last cars to carry passengers through the streets of Cambridge. On the succeeding Saturday and Sunday all the cars left the Cambridge division via Watertown⁸² and 102 years of street railway operation in Cambridge came to an end. Off the streets, trolley cars still operate on the East Cambridge viaduct, but even this has an uncertain future. Occasionally a trolley may be seen in the Harvard Square subway shops, having been brought over the rapid transit tracks from Ashmont for repairs.⁸³

Various relics of the trolley and even the horse car era remain in the form of carbarns. The carbarn ancestry of the Star Market at Mount Auburn is well disguised. The Baldwin Street barn, on Cambridge Street, now a chemical company, is somewhat less drastically altered. And across Dunster Street from the new Holyoke Center, with which it contrasts strongly, there stands an aged brick building which once belonged to the Cambridge Railroad. Its windows and doors have been bricked up, and an additional story added, but it is still visibly a relic of horse car days.

The living trolley can still be found on six routes in Boston, one of them, *mirabile dictu*, new in 1959. The author of this paper has for twenty years been traveling about to see interesting survivals and developments in this field, but there are probably not many among you who would care to go to South Bend or to the Isle of Man or to Wuppertal in pursuit of the rare things that can be seen in these places. However, within a hundred miles of Cambridge you have the most varied collection of street and interurban cars that has ever been assembled. If you wish to pursue the topic of tonight further, you cannot do better than to visit the Trolley Mu-

⁸² The streamlined "P.C.C." cars were taken out on Saturday and the older "type 5" cars and work cars on Sunday.

⁸³ The Ashmont-Mattapan high speed trolley line is isolated from the rest of the trolley system.

seum at Kennebunkport, Maine. There you may see some seventy cars, from many states and countries, ranging in date from 1873 to 1939, most of them in running order. I know of no better way to recreate the street railway era —and a fascinating era it was.

Read October 30, 1962



The Topographical Development of Cambridge, 1793-1896

BY WENDELL D. GARRETT

IN the century between the building of the West Boston Bridge in 1793, which reduced the distance between Old Cambridge and Boston from eight miles to three, and the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the city in 1896, Cambridge enjoyed (or suffered might be a more appropriate word) a physical growth that was phenomenal by any standard. Industrialization and immigration together fired the economy of nineteenth-century Cambridge; the population soared from 2,100 to over 81,000. Men surrounded by tidal basins and enormous marshes were cramped for space and began damming and filling the marshes and flats, first for commercial, and later for residential, purposes. Today the shape of the land is buried under endless streets—streets so filled with houses and so patched together that the casual observer cannot orient himself in a landscape larger than a block or two. Moreover, the successive construction of various styles and types of buildings has so jumbled together houses of successive periods that today even with careful study it is hard to establish the patterns of settlement. Cambridge seems to have built in every nineteenth-century style known: municipal Gothic, Scottish baronial, American Queen Anne, stockbrokers' Tudor, and bankers' Georgian. The city became a curious blend of old conditions and old ways overlaid with new ideas and new engineering; the old transportation paths of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, set as they were by the topography, continued to influence the development of the town and to discipline the movement of its later inhabitants.

Until the early nineteenth century, the boundaries of Cambridge were fluid and shifting. In 1633 a line was run between Charlestown and Cambridge, or Newtown, essentially the same as that which today divides Somerville from Cambridge. The town sprawled over a large radius, extended eight miles into the country from the meetinghouse, and embraced Arlington and the largest part of Lexington. By a grant from the General Court in 1642 the boundaries were extended to the Shawsheen River to include the present town of Billerica and parts of Bedford, Carlisle, and Tewksbury. Cambridge had been stretched out to the largest size it would ever be thereafter: it was shaped something like an hourglass, thirty-five miles in length, wide at each extremity and not much more than a mile in width at the central part where the original settlement was made. Brighton and Newton were wholly on the southern side of the Charles River. In 1655 began the first of a series of amputations from this sprawling giant with the incorporation of Billerica by the General Court, followed by Newton in 1688, and Lexington or "Cambridge Farms" in 1713. In 1807 both West Cambridge (known after 1867 as Arlington) and Brighton were divided off from Cambridge; from 1732 Arlington had been the Second Parish or Menotomy and from 1779 Brighton had been the Third Parish or Little Cambridge. The only additions made to offset the fragmentation of this hourglass were the extension of the boundary between Cambridge and Watertown westward about half a mile in 1754 from its former position near Sparks Street and between 1802 and 1820 other desirable acquisitions, including the Norton estate, acquired from that part of Charlestown which is now Somerville. And by legislative acts of 1853 and 1880, further portions of Watertown and Belmont were granted to Cambridge.

Cambridge failed to grow materially in the eighteenth century because of its isolation from Boston. By the most reliable estimates the population between 1776 and 1793 sluggishly grew from 1,586 to only 2,100. Travel between Boston and Cambridge had to follow one of two circuitous routes: by the ferry at Copp's Hill and through Charlestown or over Boston Neck, back across Muddy River or Brookline, through Little Cambridge and into Old Cam-

bridge at this upper end of the Charles. Reverend Abiel Holmes in his *History* estimates that there were no more than four houses east of Dana Hill in November 1793, when the West Boston Bridge opened; in fact, in all of Cambridge there were but 148 houses.

It would be hard to overemphasize the importance of the construction of the West Boston Bridge in 1793 to Cambridge: not only did it reduce the distance between Old Cambridge and Boston and open a direct avenue between the agricultural interior of Middlesex County and Boston markets, but, more important, it re-oriented the basic patterns of the town. Cambridge, which had hitherto faced the Brighton mainland, shifted its stance to face the Boston peninsula and two new villages grew up at the "Port" and "Point"—Cambridgeport and East Cambridge. The West Boston Bridge was anchored on the Cambridge side to Pelham's Island; a long causeway or "the Broad Way" was laboriously laid over the tidal basins and enormous marshes to the high lands. Topographically the area around the bridge entrance did not invite settlement. The land to the east and south of the bridge was largely flooded by tidewater and the highlands to the west were some distance from the entrance. But the strategic importance of the bridge was too good to be lost; ditch canals were soon dug and the fill was cast up on either side of the waterways. Strips of land along the canals provided space for stores and wharf buildings. By 1800 the Port numbered 100 people.

In 1800 the soaring hopes of expansionist-minded promoters and speculators in Cambridge were based solidly on the assumption that the economic future of Cambridge rested on its potential as a shipping center. Cambridgeport, in fact, was named with the expectation that the several miles of waterfront could be developed into a port with an intricate system of canals. At the time it seemed quite probable that Boston, Charlestown, and Cambridge might develop the protected inner basin of the Back Bay as a place for loading and discharging vessels of light draft. On January 11, 1805, Congress designated Cambridge a port of delivery, subject to the same regulations as other ports of delivery in the United States. Canal dredging began, prices of dock lots soared, and lumber yards

moved along canal banks. A small shipyard built and launched a coasting schooner. Even though the customhouse never got built, the port act stimulated real estate speculation. Large tracts of land on Broadway were sold under the restriction that only buildings of brick or stone, not less than three stories in height, could be built on them. By 1807 the Port alone numbered a thousand residents. However, at the full tide of business prosperity, the Embargo of 1807 seriously disrupted every mercantile plan and frustrated every speculator's dream. Property values tumbled in the wake; by 1812 when war was finally declared wharves were already rotting and grass was growing in the streets.

After the War of 1812 a fog of business failure settled over Cambridgeport; it remained a place through which the heavily-freighted wagons of produce from the back country passed on their way to Boston. Several large inns were built and prospered and a number of small industries, making soap, furniture, and carriages, made feeble beginnings. But the expectations that shipping would leave the deep-water docks of Boston for the mud-scooped canals of the Charles proved costly for many managers of venture capital.

At the same time that the Embargo shut off the flow of capital into shipping, a great deal of money was diverted into real estate speculation. With the spiraling population growth of Boston and Cambridge after 1800, it took little imagination for Andrew Craigie and his associates to sense the potential of Lechmere Point as a sound venture for development and expansion. In 1809 these investors built the Craigie Bridge from the point in East Cambridge to the North End of Boston; the following year they were incorporated as the Lechmere Point Corporation. Even though the sale of house lots was at first sluggish, the owners of the toll bridge and a great deal of land in East Cambridge hit upon an imaginative scheme to promote building on the Point. Middlesex County needed a new courthouse and jail; in 1813 the Lechmere Point Corporation agreed not only to convey a tract of land to the county but also to construct the county buildings at an expense not to exceed \$24,000. Construction was finished in 1816 and the courts and county records were moved to East Cambridge from Old Cambridge.

More than the symbolic transfer of the main political and economic spheres of influence out of the intellectual and social centers of Old Cambridge, this diffusion and segmentation of Cambridge into three distinct parts became a historical reality of the nineteenth century. The Lechmere Point Corporation laid out its land in a grid-street and frontage-lot system without regard to the irregular contours of the marginal marshes and flats along the river; the proprietors assumed from the beginning that they would eventually fill and reclaim the entire shore line. The first major industry to settle in East Cambridge was the New England Glass Company in 1814; several soap companies followed shortly thereafter. The construction of Prison Point Bridge in 1815 finally linked East Cambridge with Charlestown. The proximity of East Cambridge to Boston and Charlestown, the early construction of the Craigie and Prison Point bridges, the imaginative town plan oriented around a government center, and the early inducement of several major industries to the area laid the foundations upon which East Cambridge built an impressively large industrial complex capable of attracting a growing labor supply to this city.

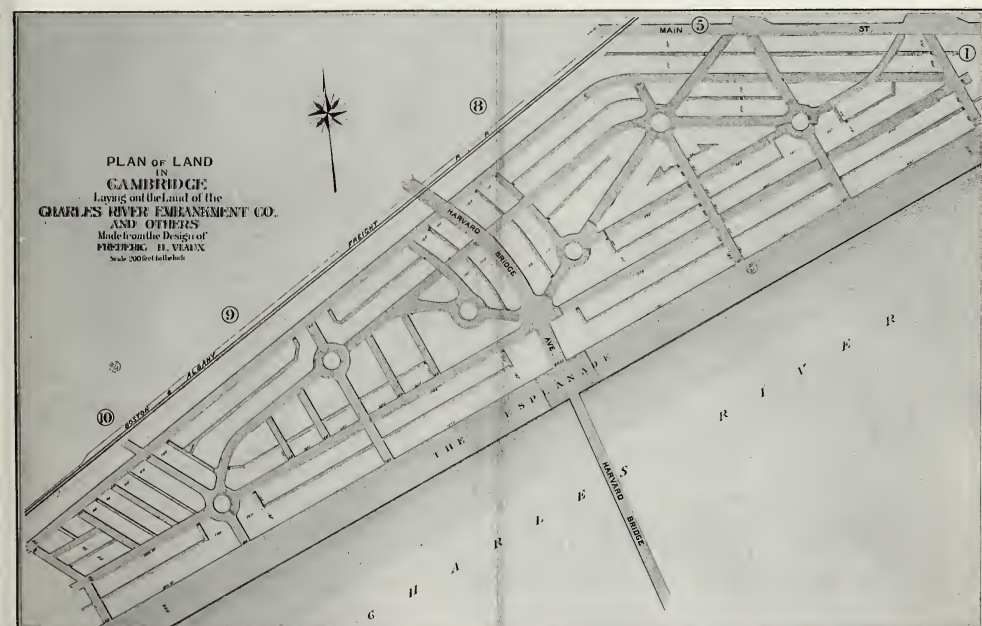
The importation of muscle to work in these burgeoning industries nearly doubled the population of Cambridge between 1820 and 1830 from 3,295 to 6,072. Industrialization and immigration were beginning to fire the economy of Cambridge. Even though Cambridge, and the greater Boston area in general, built its great labor pool before the 1840's largely from the rural hinterland and the maritime provinces, the emigration of farmers, artisans, and millworkers out of the British Isles—men squeezed by the shifting rewards and penalties of English industrialization—began to augment the working classes sizably after 1840.

By 1830 Cambridge in reality was three towns within the same geographic boundaries, each separated by formidable stretches of partially submerged and wooded land; more and more they had diverse, and often conflicting, interests in local government, particularly on the policy of expenditure of public money. The rivalry of the three villages came to a noisy culmination in June, 1830, when Old Cambridge applied for and received from the General



Courtesy of the Boston Athenaeum

OLD HOVEY TAVERN IN CAMBRIDGEPORT, LITHOGRAPH BY
JOHN H. BUFFORD, AROUND 1850



Courtesy of the Boston Athenaeum

PLANS FOR DEVELOPMENT BY THE CHARLES RIVER EMBANKMENT
COMPANY (NOW THE SITE OF M.I.T.) FROM 1894 ATLAS



Author's collection

MOVING OF THE CLUBHOUSE OF THE CAMBRIDGE BOAT CLUB
IN MARCH 1947

Court permission to enclose the common lands of the town and convert them into a park. This tract of about ten acres had been owned by the Proprietors of the Common Lands until 1769, when they formally transferred the title to the town for the land to be used "as a training field, to lie undivided and to remain for that use forever." Old Cambridge forces met immediate resistance from East Cambridge and Craigie Bridge interests because their scheme would divert the Concord Turnpike from direct connection with Cambridge Street. In addition, cattle drivers were enraged at the suggestion of an enclosure since they had traditionally used the Common as a resting place for their stock. Beginning in October 1830 town meetings assembled in an attempt to settle the issue; they almost invariably had to be adjourned from the old courthouse to the meetinghouse to accommodate the large crowds who showed up to voice their opinions. Those challenging the enclosure carried their appeal to the county commissioners, the General Court, and finally to the state Supreme Court, but without success.

The Common remained an enclosed park, but more than anything else the controversy demonstrated the need for a larger building for town meetings. The meetinghouse proprietors very naturally objected to their edifice being used for rowdy and vindictive gatherings. Since East Cambridge had secured the county buildings, Cambridgeport was determined to have the new townhouse. About eleven acres bounded by Harvard, Norfolk, Austin, and Prospect streets, originally set aside in 1818 for an almshouse, were, through the combined vote of Cambridgeport and East Cambridge, named the site of a new townhouse. A wooden building was erected on the eastern part of the land and on March 5, 1832, a town meeting was held there for the first time; all subsequent meetings were held there so long as Cambridge remained a town. The building burned in 1853.

The realities of this shift of the center of population toward West Boston Bridge provoked open and determined attempts to divide the town; in 1842 Old Cambridge petitioned the General Court to divide the town along Lee Street and incorporate everything west into a separate municipality, but this attempt was suc-

cessfully opposed. In 1845 the population reached 12,490, up from 8,409 in 1840, and town meetings became unmanageable out of sheer bulk; the administrative methods of the old town meeting form of government strained against insurmountable odds to meet the community needs. Therefore, in 1846 enough support was rallied against the proponents of division to incorporate Cambridge and to adopt a city form of government. The city charter was the first major step, if only symbolic, to bind together the sectional rivalry of the separate geographic regions of Cambridge. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, born in Cambridge in 1823, lived to write his memories of his life here in the 1896 celebration and remembered well as a youngster the factionalism:

When we went to Boston it was by taking "Morse's hourly" and passing through the then open region, past Dana Hill, to the "Port," where we sometimes had to encounter, even on the stage-box, the open irreverence of the "Port chucks," who kept up a local antagonism now apparently extinct. Somehow . . . the Port delegation seemed to be larger and more pugnacious . . . than the sons of professors and college stewards.

Cambridge hastened toward complete urbanization after becoming a city. One of Mayor James D. Green's most conspicuous acts during his first year in office was to prohibit by enactment of law the common practice of pasturing cows in the streets. Corralling the cattle, however, was only one of many problems facing this city at a time when its major problem was finding ways and means of absorbing and providing housing for the thousand new residents who arrived annually. There were painful dislocations to be corrected. One writer stated flatly: "In 1846, Cambridge was a city of wells and cesspools"; in 1852 the city finally assumed the responsibility of common sewers, and in 1865 (nineteen years after incorporation) the city supplied running water.

The topographical definition of Cambridge in the 1840's resulted from a curious amalgam of unpredictable economic successes and failures, running counter to many earlier expectations and hopes. The elaborate canal system built in the Port to facilitate and encourage trade not only was a failure, but by mid-century these abandoned earthworks obstructed and frustrated road build-

ing and real estate development. Cambridgeport grew as an industrial, not as a shipping, center; by 1848 there were thirteen soap-making firms, three confectionery establishments, two bacon works, three furniture-making firms, two carriage builders, and three box-making firms established in the Port. In spite of this manufacturing growth the earliest railroad routes surprisingly avoided Cambridge: the Worcester Road built in 1835 went through Brighton, the Lowell Road also in 1835 cut off travel from the north, and the Fitchburg Road in 1845 went through Waltham. The first city directory published in 1847 complained that "the construction of numerous railroads running from Boston . . . by some fatality seem to avoid Cambridge [and] have almost annihilated the extensive trade which was formerly carried on between the Port and the country towns, even as far back as the borders of Vermont and New Hampshire." One by one, the great inns of Cambridgeport closed as the train routes diverted freight around Cambridge and replaced the wagon traffic.

But the railroads could not avoid Cambridge for long. Ferment was in the air as the pace of industrialization and immigration accelerated in the five-year period 1850 to 1855. The great decline of Irish agriculture, beginning with the terrible potato famine of the 1840's, was beginning to change radically the composition of the population of Cambridge. The total population of Cambridge between 1850 and 1855 increased from 15,215 to 20,473. Finally, in 1852 after having been bypassed by the major rail lines, the long-desired charter for the construction of the Grand Junction Railway was granted, connecting the Boston & Maine and Boston & Albany lines. The direct route of the Grand Junction made it necessary to build a lengthy causeway across the tidal flats between the Port and West Boston Bridge. The filled lands northwest of the railroad became the highly significant site of the central manufacturing district of Cambridge in the second half of the nineteenth century; the last area to be reclaimed on the inside of the rail line was the lowlands known as the Binney fields at the top end of Broad Canal.

In 1847 after the incorporation of the city and the projection of this railroad route, a group of merchants in East Cambridge was

encouraged enough to seek incorporation from the General Court as the Cambridge Wharf Company. They bought and attempted to develop lands between the highlands of East Cambridge and the banks of the Charles River in the area north of the West Boston Bridge. But beyond the purchase of a tract along the river front and the conception of a plan of improvement, this company did little. The East Cambridge Land Company was incorporated in 1861 to continue the work of reclamation in this area. A large district covering some seventy-five acres, lying between Portland and Third streets and the Broad Canal, came under the control of the company. Some manufacturing structures were built on this land, yet these low-tide flats southeast of the railroad in East Cambridge resisted reclamation for decades. As late as 1896 one writer stated that "quite one third of the available holdings of this company still remain to be built upon."

Street railway service in Cambridge began in 1852 with one-car service between Harvard Square and Union Square in Somerville; the success of this experiment soon brought on a network of other lines in a wave of entrepreneurial enthusiasm. One of the most significant features of these horse railroads was that they merely stretched out the existing city along already established paths. Street railway engineers had two interests when locating their tracks: one was to keep the grades as gradual as possible, and the other was to run the tracks in such a way as to pick up the most traffic. As a result, Cambridge's lines followed the contours between the three villages much as did the old roads. In this way streetcar construction reinforced the former village settlement patterns. Moreover, the street railway service and suburban house building moved together: the more street railway service, the faster the rate of building. As the density of population increased, Cambridge became more and more centerless. The commercial strip—simply a long row of little stores which served those passing by and those living in the houses behind—followed the main transportation lines. When a streetcar station and arterial streets came together, stores, churches, and schools were built to serve some of the needs of the residents of that particular area, but more than any-

thing else Cambridge in the last half of the nineteenth century evolved into a centerless, amorphous pattern of commercial strips overlaid with irregular side-street grids that sprawled over a large radius. The arrangement of the blocks of the grid depended largely upon what farm or estate came on the market at what time. The result was not integrated communities arranged about the three small historic centers of Cambridge, but a historical and accidental traffic pattern.

No period in Cambridge's history was more dynamic than the prosperous years of the second half of the nineteenth century. The enormous and continuous influx of men and women desperately in need of work made Cambridge a great labor pool. In 1858 the two principal bridges to Boston became free municipal property, after tolls amounting to over two million dollars had been received by their owners. The removal of the last economic barriers between Cambridge and Boston made it possible not only for unrestricted transportation of goods back and forth across the river but also for the expansion of industries on this side of the river to draw on the labor supply of the North and West ends. As streets were widened, marshes filled, and hills leveled in the 1850's, Cambridge grew wealthy as never before and began to look and feel like a city. Expensive homes and ample stone churches were built; the Cambridge Athenaeum, incorporated in 1849, endowed with a gift of a thousand dollars for books in 1855 by Mr. James Brown of Watertown, became a public institution in November 1857. Main Street, now largely known as Massachusetts Avenue, was truly the main street and the principal thoroughfare between Old Cambridge and the West Boston Bridge. This street, today overwhelmed with furniture showrooms, clothing stores, and short-order eateries, was an impressive boulevard in the middle of the last century. In addition to many mansions, especially between Central and Harvard squares, it boasted, in addition to the Athenaeum, the City Hall, the Episcopal, Baptist, and Universalist churches, and Masonic Hall.

One of the most enduring of the many transformations of this era was the rearrangement of the physical form of the city itself through the subdivision of old estates. The limited amount of land

available and the persistent increase in population made real estate subdivision and speculation not only a necessary but also a profitable activity in mid-century Cambridge. Many of the middle-class families who built their houses between 1830 and 1860 showed a clear preference for a rural setting. Views and maps showing their "carpenter" Greek temples, Gothic cottages, and Italianate houses, imitative of the larger and more expensive fashions of the day, set on ample garden plots, witness their intention of placing their cottages within a romantic landscape. Many of the houses built in this era have regrettably been torn down (many in fact since Denys Myers compiled his pictorial "Partial Catalogue of Greek Revival Buildings Extant in Cambridge" in typescript in 1937) or are so hemmed in as to be almost unrecognizable today.

A close look at the demography, which is closely related to the region's topography, destroys many of the clichés about ethnic ghettos and concentrations of immigrants in Cambridge. Though Irish, Canadian, and German groups did often concentrate in small pockets, and secure their situation with the establishment of churches, clubs, and schools, these concentrations were scattered at random throughout the entire city and were only eddies in the steady flow of the middle class. They were temporary aggregations at best. In spite of the scourge of cyclical unemployment, the late nineteenth century was an era of rising real wages; those in work prospered and fanned out over the city. Real estate atlases indicate, especially in Cambridgeport and East Cambridge, that many streets contained representatives of each major immigrant group. The population of Cambridge in 1875 was 47,838; of this number 13,792 or 28.5% were born here. In a breakdown of each of the five wards of Cambridge, this percentage of native born does not vary more than 2%. Those living here who were born in other Massachusetts towns numbered 10,056 or 21%; and when broken down into wards, this concentration does not vary more than 4% in either direction; the extremes are 25% in Old Cambridge and 17% in the Lower Port. Essentially, these figures illustrate the fact that half of the inhabitants of the city were native to Massachusetts and were themselves scattered evenly through the five wards of Cambridge.

The count of those born in other states was 8,762 or 18.5%. Here there is an 8% variation in concentration, with a low of 10.5% in East Cambridge and a high of 26% in the Lower Port. But the revealing thing is that the foreign born, who numbered 15,032 or 31.5% of the population, were more evenly scattered through the five wards than those born out of state. As one would expect, the highest concentrations of 39.5% and 34.5% were in East and North Cambridge, yet the lowest concentrations of 26.5% and 27% in the Lower Port and Old Cambridge are significant for their lack of diversity. Furthermore, according to Abner Forbes and J. W. Greene's polemic, *The Rich Men of Massachusetts*, published in 1851, the thirty-eight men of Cambridge with assets of \$100,000 or more were also scattered throughout the city; sixteen lived in Old Cambridge, sixteen in Cambridgeport, four in East Cambridge, and two in undetermined locations. The evenness of the distribution of native born, foreign born, and moneyed men indicates that Cambridge was much more homogeneous than partisan pleaders of special causes have led us to believe in the past. In the 1890's as Irish immigration began to slacken, their place was taken by new waves of people seeking to escape the poverty of Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe; yet, it is well to remember that between 1875 and 1895 the percentage of foreign born within the total population only increased from 31.4% to 34.6%.

Many people found the last three decades of the nineteenth century a gloomy time. The Civil War had battered Cambridge particularly hard: between the 4,135 men who entered the army and the 453 who joined the navy, one-sixth of the entire population was uprooted from the city. After a brief economic boom in the sinister afterglow of the 1860's, confidence was soon shattered by the Great Depression of 1873-1878. Tariff wars irritated international tension and made a general war seem very near. Science and Biblical criticism were working together to undermine the traditional certainties. Growing literacy and widening franchises excited popular antagonisms locally; everywhere the social order crumbled visibly. Yet the great war everyone dreaded never came; the period was dominated by the great peace, the longest period without war

between the great powers since the appearance of the modern nation state. In America the era of big business had arrived. And Cambridge, for a number of reasons including its proximity to the Port of Boston, its abundant venture capital, its large and ambitious reservoir of labor, and its nearness to the major railroad terminals of Boston, played a prominent role in this full flowering of the industrial revolution in America. By the mid-1890's the manufacturing here of heavy machinery, such as engine boilers and hydraulic engines, and steel railway bridges grossed annually over two million dollars. The industries which produced a yearly revenue in excess of a million dollars included printing and publishing, musical instruments (especially pianos and organs), furniture, clothing, carpenter's work, soap and candles, and biscuit baking. Following Chicago and Kansas City, Cambridge was the third largest packing center of pork in the country. During this economic boom of the eighties and nineties, the fluid topographical configurations of Cambridge cooled and rigidly settled into the outlines we recognize today.

The Depression of 1873 was accompanied with a slack period in suburban building in this city, but the hard times did little, if nothing, to check the growth in population. Between 1870 and 1880 the number of residents increased from 39,634 to 52,669. At the start of the building boom of the 1880's, individual property owners and speculators raced not only to construct enough single and multiple dwellings for these 13,000, but also enough to take care of the additional 29,000 who arrived in the fifteen years between 1880 and 1895. As extensive estates and large lots were subdivided, an extensive though not altogether successful effort was made to rationalize the haphazard street patterns behind the major arteries. In some areas developers overlaid open land with grid streets and frontage lots, but in others more roads were cut through private property simply in order to reach new building lots. This rush in building was accompanied with an enormous public effort in the construction of power and sanitation networks, and particularly schools, libraries, and public buildings. Through the generous gifts of Frederick H. Rindge to the city, the Romanesque Pub-

lic Library designed by Van Brunt & Howe was built in 1888–1889, the Manual Training School by Rotch & Tilden in 1888, and the City Hall by Longfellow, Alden & Harlow in 1889–1890; two of the three still stand as fitting memorials to this remarkable benefactor. The major part of the public park system was purchased and constructed during the last third of the century. All in all there was a pervading sense of newness about the city in the 1890's.

As the number of inland building lots began to decrease alarmingly, organized schemes of further development of Cambridge's shore line began to attract more attention and money. In 1874 the General Court chartered the Cambridge Improvement Company to improve about fifty acres of lowlands and flats in East Cambridge, between Third Street and the river, lands earlier under the corporate management of the Cambridge Wharf Company of 1847 and the East Land Company of 1861. One of the major obstacles to improving this area had always been its separation from Main Street and the West Boston Bridge by the Broad Canal. The Cambridge Improvement Company was in the process of formulating a scheme with municipal authorities of either filling or bridging the canal when the financial panic of the 1870's paralyzed their efforts; the company never fully recovered from the depression and finally sold their river-front holdings in 1889 to Henry M. Whitney, more famous for his Brookline real estate speculations and for consolidating the street railways of Boston. The new owner's attempts to recover this land met with impressive success. First Street was filled from its terminus at Binney Street to the Broad Canal, where a bridge was built, connecting this region with the junction of the West Boston Bridge and Main Street. A sea wall was extended in an easterly direction in order to facilitate the task of reclamation of the marshes and flats. By the mid-1890's nearly a hundred acres still remained to be reclaimed, but promoters of the area had reason to be confident; as one writer noted, "First Street is only a mile distant from the City Hall of Boston, and, accordingly, nearer to that accepted centre than the Hotel Vendome."

The submerged lands between the Grand Junction Railroad on the west, Main Street (now Massachusetts Avenue) on the north,

and the Charles on the south formed a triangular area of about two hundred and fifteen acres that came under serious consideration for improvement in 1880. A proprietary group was formed and in 1881 was incorporated as the Charles River Embankment Company. Except for a tongue of marsh with a gravel beach known as Whittemore's Point, most of the district under consideration was flats, uncovered only at low tide. Great indentations had been made in these marshes earlier to help fill lowlands in the West End of Boston. The general plan called for the construction of a sea wall extending from the Brookline Bridge to the West Boston Bridge, filling behind the wall by dredging the sand and gravel in the river basin, and the building of a gilt-edged residential area, planned around an ornamental esplanade two hundred feet wide. Of high priority to the developers was the necessity of a bridge to the opposite bank in Boston that would connect with West Chester Park. The capital of the company was fixed at not less than \$500,000, with permission to increase the amount to not exceeding \$2,000,000. Cambridge agreed to relieve the Embankment Company from increased taxation for a period of ten years, and in return the company agreed to build a wide approach to the proposed bridge over its lands. The first one thousand feet of retaining wall was built in 1883, and tons of river silt were dredged from the flats fronting the wall and deposited on the lands behind. The Boston City Council, however, obstructed efforts to begin construction on the new bridge across the Charles; finally in 1887 the General Court passed a mandatory act enforcing the building of the bridge and providing for a commission with full powers to accomplish that end. Work on reclaiming the lowlands, which had been temporarily suspended, was resumed.

Agitation and endless discussion took up the question of the closing of navigation of the river to mast vessels, thus definitely devoting the banks to residential and park purposes. The pollution of its tides by sewage was denounced in a published report in 1894 which read in part:

The banks of the river and the exposed flats have become from year to year more offensive until, on certain portions of the river, the people living

near the stream have been exposed to the disagreeable and probably injurious emanation therefrom. So far reaching had this nuisance become that during the summer of 1892 a very large portion of the territory of Old Cambridge was subject to its influence, and a petition was addressed to the State Board of Health signed by hundreds of householders, and by nearly all the practising physicians of that portion of the city, praying that some relief might be given from a condition of things believed to be positively injurious to health, and known to be so offensive that windows had to be closed during the period of low tide in the river.

The new bridge, named the Harvard Bridge, was finished in 1890, but because of a dispute over crossing the Grand Junction Railroad it was not opened to the public until 1891. Out of a strong agitation over the question of public parks, a municipal park commission was formed in 1892; within a few months it set apart for public use a ribbon of shore land 1,460 feet in length in East Cambridge between Craigie and West Boston bridges, and the entire Cambridge bank of the Charles from the westerly terminal of the Embankment Company esplanade to the Watertown line, a distance of over three miles. The Charles River Embankment Company, like so many of its predecessors, was born in an inflationary surge in the economy and fell hard on the Depression of 1893. By 1903 only a portion of land to either side of the bridge causeway had been laid out into building lots and sold. It was not until 1912, two years after the completion of a dam that excluded harbor tides from the Charles River Basin, that Massachusetts Institute of Technology became a permanent tenant of much of this land east of the Harvard Bridge.

The jubilee celebration in 1896 of the incorporation of Cambridge marked an era in the city's mind as well as in its chronology. Cambridge had come of age amid the grinding uncertainties, the shocking changes, the complexity and indirection of the new economic ways at the end of the century. The most consequential changes had entered silently, without formal consideration or enactment, often contrary to popular expectations and assumptions. With justifiable pride the leading citizens could publish a 400-page co-operative historical account of the city for the anniversary, and without fagging write a 190-page report of the celebration itself. The single truism receiving repeated emphasis in the historical

essays in these volumes was that Cambridge was a different city topographically at the end of the nineteenth century than it had been at the end of the eighteenth; the profound changes resulting from the building of its bridges, the filling of its marshes, and indeed its physical growth through industrialization and immigration radically changed its contours. So long as the lower Charles River remained a tidal basin, houses and buildings had been built facing inward, with their backsides to the water. But after the construction of the Charles River Dam in 1910 and the stabilization of the water level, new buildings were abruptly reoriented toward the river, just as the stance of old Cambridge had been reoriented a century earlier with the building of its first bridges.

Read January 22, 1963



The Cambridge Boat Club

BY RALPH MAY

THE words Boat Club always seem to call up the thought of stalwart young men and healthy young women, of exercise and of some disregard for weather, of natural flow into tennis and dancing and of at least mild adventure with water and wind. The Cambridge Boat Club has been no exception to these thoughts. It is pleasant to reminisce for a short time with you on its history.

The Charles River has always been romantic, and its shores have inherited much historic interest. I had a longing to call the title of this little talk, "Did he or didn't he?" Did Leif Ericsson really build his house as the stone at Gerry's Landing says he did: "On this spot in the year 1000 Leif Ericsson built his house in Vineland"? Of this more later, but, till we go along in our story, it is to me, at least, interesting for a moment, if no longer, to imagine a Viking ship coming up the Charles as the first prototype of an eight-oared crew on the river.

Judge Robert Walcott and Mr. Stoughton Bell, through friendship for the Cambridge Boat Club, some years ago wrote brief reminiscences of its earliest days. Mr. Roger Gilman gave, on October 23, 1945, a most informative and interesting paper before the Cambridge Historical Society entitled, "Windmill Lane to Ash Street," telling the history of the land on which and near which the Cambridge Boat Club first stood. Mr. Gilman also helped me greatly in a further approach to the story of the historical interest this land retains. Mr. Gilman has courteously given me permission to use what he then gave me in connection with the presentation of this paper. Mr. Bell has done likewise.

The only high firm ground near the western end of what became Ash Street was at one spot. A grant dated 1633 referred to this high ground as Windmill Hill and reserved it for the town use. Cambridge was founded less than a mile from Windmill Hill. Governor Winthrop and Deputy Governor Dudley decided on December 28, 1630, to build a "New Towne" the following spring. This "New Towne" was founded and became Cambridge in 1638. Collaterally, the wolves were howling in Watertown in 1631. In 1632 Watertown men were taking great stores of shad in a weir above Watertown. The early chronicles were full of reports about Indians. Old sketch maps show marshes along the river's edge from far down the river below Windmill Hill to Gerry's Landing. In 1635 there was a ferry across the river at the foot of Water, now Dunster Street. Eliot Street was early known as Marsh Lane.

A "pallysadoe," or stockade of strong stakes, was built around this "New Towne," or Cambridge. This pallysadoe began on the bank of the Charles by Windmill Hill, about at the foot of Ash Street. A fosse was dug around the pallysadoe commencing at Windmill Hill and enclosing over a thousand acres. Tradition has it that offshoots from this pallysadoe survived in a group of giant willows hanging on the bank between the higher ground and the salt marsh. Mr. Gilman has testified to two or three of these enormous willows.

Passing over the story of this land in the intervening years, in 1852 Windmill Hill and a landing place nearby were taken over by the Cambridge Gas Company. The gas was stored in a great round gas house of brick. An old photograph taken from the top of Memorial Hall in 1876 shows that this gas tank loomed all over that part of the town. After twenty years of occupancy the Cambridge Gas Company moved away.

In June 1882 several gentlemen of the neighborhood met at the house of Ernest W. Longfellow. It was proposed to build a casino on the land near the end of Ash Street. This land was partly marsh and partly dump. It was thought that this casino would add to the beauty of the city and would give moral and physical vigor to those who became members. Shares were offered at \$50 apiece. Appar-

ently, \$8,500 was raised. Membership was limited to 100 men and 50 ladies.

The Casino came into being. "The entrance was opposite the end of Hawthorn Street, through a hooded gateway covered with woodbine." "There was a red fence around much of the Club lot. There were two grass tennis courts and a long bowling alley," which Mr. Stoughton Bell says stood on stilts on the marsh at the edge of the river, on land owned by the heirs of Longfellow. It stood just west of the lower end of Ash Street. On a lower level there were three dirt tennis courts and one of asphalt for winter play. On the riverbank stood a green shingled boathouse of two stories, each story with a balcony overlooking the river. Inside were club rowboats, some private boats and birch bark canoes, and a billiard table upstairs. I hold in my hand a Casino membership card dated 1893 attached with what is, apparently, a key to the house. This has been courteously lent me for this purpose by Mr. Arthur Drinkwater.

Mr. Gilman told me that the river's edge in the Casino days had steep mud banks, with an unpleasant smell at low tide. As for tide I well remember the tide in the Charles before the dam was built and having to row up to the Weld against it in some eight or other after a race in the lower basin, doubly hard if you had just been defeated. All this was common practice. Opposite the Casino, Mr. Gilman said, were a few salt marsh haystacks.

"In January 1895 the Casino sold out to the City for \$17,500." According to Judge Walcott the old Casino went out of business when the principal promotors, Joseph H. Thorp and Richard H. Dana, growing older, transferred their interest to the Oakley Country Club and took up golf instead of rowing and tennis. Both Judge Walcott and Mr. Bell have indicated that the owners of the bowling alley, at about the time of the taking of the land in the vicinity by the city, had the bowling alley moved alongside the north fence of the present skating club lot. This lot was then owned by Mr. J. G. Thorp, one of the active bowlers. Mr. Bell has written that the bowling alley was cut into sections and transferred in that way.

Mr. Bell wrote further, "My first acquaintance with the Charles

was when it was a tidal stream flowing between extensive marshes on either side. In fact I shot shore birds where Soldiers Field is now located." Times change fast and for those who love nature not happily. Not too many years ago early one morning in bed at 986 Memorial Drive I heard a whippoorwill from the opposite shore, going through.

The Casino died just before the City of Cambridge took over the marshes on the north side of the river, which extended from Longfellow Bridge to the western end of the city. The city subsequently established the Cambridge Park Commission, which improved the flats along the river and constructed a parkway. The State Board of Health and the State Water Board recommended legislation for a dam. The dam was built and put into operation October 20, 1908. Stoughton Bell writes that not long after the Charles River was maintained at a fairly constant level a group of old Cambridge residents started a movement to build a boat club on the site made vacant by the moving of the bowling alley. By that time Memorial Drive had been laid out, with its western end where it now joins Mount Auburn Street. A meeting was called January 28, 1909, at Mr. Dana's house, to organize a boat club; Mr. Joseph B. Russell was chairman of the meeting. In response to an invitation, by March 5, 1909, more than a hundred had said they would be willing to join. It was stated that by the same date \$9,000 in notes, originated by Professor Joseph H. Beale, Jr., had been subscribed for. Professor Beale, Mr. Stoughton Bell, and at least one other were a committee to raise the necessary money and to equip the club house. Before the incorporation of the club Mr. Arthur H. Brooks was president and Mr. Robert Walcott, treasurer and secretary.

Judge Walcott writes, "We canvassed for membership among the then younger set of married people and were successful in financing the building of a Club House by means of notes." He goes on to say, "We decided to ask Mr. Robert S. Peabody, the architect, to judge competing plans for a Club Boat House which could be built for not exceeding \$20,000, all bids to be submitted anonymously." Mr. Peabody selected the bid of Mr. John S. Ames. On April 7, 1909, the Cambridge Boat Club, which is the corporate

name of the club, was incorporated. The incorporators were Arthur H. Brooks, Robert Walcott, Stoughton Bell, W. Rodman Peabody, Joseph G. Thorp, William S. Hall, and James M. Myers. They and their successors thus became legally established.

The Boat House was built on the river's bank, at its edge. Ramps ran down to a large float. There was a pleasant amount of open grass land around the Boat House, which stood with its southern side about 138 feet up-stream from a spot across Memorial Drive opposite the middle of Ash Street. This first house was the same as that now used.

James Russell Lowell loved nature and found the spot where the Cambridge Boat Club came into being one which gave him happiness. Lines from Lowell's poem "Under the Willows" bring out of the past a philosophy that most of us who have used and use the Cambridge Boat Club have found in the happiness it has brought to us.

Frank-Hearted hostess of the field and wood,
Gypsy, whose roof is every spreading tree,
June is the pearl of our New England year.

Gladness of woods, skies, waters, all in one,

What a day

To sun me and do nothing! Nay, I think

Merely to bask and ripen is sometimes

The student's wiser business:

Except for him who hath the secret learned

To mix his blood with sunshine, and to take

The winds into his pulses.

I love to enter pleasure by a postern,

Not the broad popular gate that gulps the mob:

The sliding Charles,

Blue towards the west, and bluer and more blue,

Living and lustrous as a woman's eyes

Look once and look no more, with southward curve

Ran crinkling sunniness.

Far away

The bobolink tinkled; the deep shadows flowed

With multitudinous pulse of light and shade

Against the bases of the southern hills,
While here and there a drowsy island rick
Slept and its shadow slept; the wooden bridge
Thundered, and then was silent;

Summer on field and hill, in heart and brain,
All life washed clean in this high tide of June.

For a moment or two let us turn our thoughts to another poet, some of whose prose is, to me, poetry—Oliver Wendell Holmes. In his *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table*, 1892 edition, pages 164–169, the following extracts occur:

Now let us look at the conditions of rowing. I wont suppose you to be disgracing yourself in one of those miserable tubs, tugging in which is to rowing the true boat what riding a cow is to bestriding an Arab. . . . Our boat, then, is something of the shape of a pickeral. . . . It is a kind of a giant pod, as one might say, tight everywhere, except in a little place in the middle, where you sit. Its length is from seven to ten yards, and it is only from sixteen to thirty inches wide in its widest part, you understand why you want those “outriggers,” or projecting iron frames with the rowlocks in which the oars play. My rowlocks are five feet apart; double the greatest width of the boat.

Here you are, then, with a body a rod and a half long, with arms, or wings, as you may choose to call them, stretching more than twenty feet from tip to tip; every volition of yours extending as perfectly into them as if your spinal cord ran down the centre strip of your boat, and the nerves of your arms tingled as far as the broad blades of your oars, oars of spruce, balanced, leathered and ringed under your own special direction. This, in sober earnest, is the nearest approach to flying that man has ever made or perhaps ever will make. As the hawk sails without flapping his pinions, so you drift with the tide when you will, in the most luxurious form of locomotion indulged to an embodied spirit. But if your blood wants rousing, turn round that stake in the river, which you see a mile from here; and when you come in in sixteen minutes (if you do, for we are old boys, and not champion scullers, you remember), then say if you begin to feel a little warmed up or not! You can row easily and gently all day, and you can row yourself blind and black in the face in ten minutes, just as you like.

I glide around the Back Bay, down the stream, up the Charles to Cambridge and Watertown, up the Mystic, round the wharves, in the wake of steamboats. . . . I linger under bridges—rub against the black sides of old wood-schooners; cool down under the overhanging stern of some tall Indian; stretch across to the Navy Yard, where the sentinel warns me off

from the Ohio, just as if I should hurt her by lying in her shadow; then strike out into the harbor, where the water gets clear and the air smells of the ocean.

When I have established a pair of well-pronounced feathering-calluses on my thumbs, when I am in training so that I can do my fifteen miles at a stretch . . . when I can perform my mile in eight minutes or a little more, then I feel as if I had old Time's head in chancery, and could give it to him at my leisure.

We must now take up our own oars more vigorously. We have seen that Cambridge Boat Club came into being in 1909. It was first suggested that ten boats and ten canoes be purchased for club use. It was stated that these could be obtained for \$1,000, or, if second hand, for \$500. In the matter of a few months the clubhouse was built at a cost of \$6,500. The first idea was to have the house hold some forty boats and canoes and was further designed for possible enlargement, if use of the river became as popular as anticipated. The clubhouse was opened in November 1909, with a Saturday tea. A notice at that time stated that the regular membership was filled and that there was a waiting list.

Growth of the social side of the club, at its inception, does not seem emphasized in those early club records your historian has been able to find. But it was not long before a demand for social gatherings soon invaded the philosophy of aquatics. On December 4, 1914, the directors voted that Mrs. Williams be authorized to add a drum to the orchestra at the next boat club dance. Fault was apparently found with the method of dancing at one or more of the early Cambridge Boat Club parties. Some years ago your historian spread this report upon the waters with the result that Mr. Arthur M. Goodridge wrote as follows: "The situation was bad. Directors and House Committee were in a quandary until our President, William S. Hall, produced this masterpiece of tactfulness."

The Board of Directors does not expect, and has no disposition to try, to stem the current of the modern dance, which calls for "pep" at expense of grace and a rhythmic noise in place of "music with its voluptuous swell." It is expected, however, that members and their guests, at the dances of the Club, will conduct themselves with a due regard to the best conventions of modern dancing. Exactly what these are it may be difficult to define.

Anyone can tell daylight from dark. No one can tell exactly when daylight ends and dark begins. Anyone of sound moral sense ought to be able to tell decency from indecency, no one perhaps can tell exactly where decency ends and indecency begins.

Observation by the Board has convinced them that there are a few offenders. They themselves should be aware of their own offence, but if not, and it is inadvertence, a little searching of the heart should bring them light.

It is hoped that this expression of opinion by the Board will prove all that is needful.

By the order of the BOARD OF DIRECTORS
G. Harvey Hull, Secretary

CAMBRIDGE BOAT CLUB

February 2, 1920

Speaking of dancing, the Cambridge Boat Club Saturday tea dances were very popular.

It seems fairly easy to estimate the early life of the club from even a brief summary of the records. Many are interesting. One, pertaining to an application for membership, was from a gentleman who wrote: "We do not live on Brattle Street." Let us hope he was acted on favorably.

One early arrangement made by the club is of interest. Tickets at \$3.00 each, nontransferable and revocable, might be issued to children of members, the children to be between thirteen and sixteen. These tickets, however, could be issued only provided a written statement was filed with the directors of the club to the effect that such children could swim and that the club should be in no way whatsoever responsible for the care of or injury to them. These same tickets provided certain canoes might not be used and boats only on Sundays, holidays, and Saturdays after 1 P.M. and on other days after 5 P.M. Such a ticket was to be forfeited on complaint of the janitor or of any member.

This seems an appropriate time to quote from Judge Robert Walcott who, as already stated, once wrote your historian a very helpful letter about the early history of the Cambridge Boat Club. His letter reads as follows:

There were several club wherries and a half dozen club canoes open for hire. In addition a number of members kept their private shells and canoes on the racks of the boat room. Messrs. Forbes and Kennedy devoted considerable time to formulating the game of Battleship Baseball (later patented) which yielded a modicum of athletics with considerable betting excitement.

During the years when the Boston Elevated Railway was constructing its tunnel from Park Street to Harvard Square, and travel by surface car usually consumed forty minutes from Harvard Square to Scollay Square, it was found during a considerable part of the winter, before the smoke from the Boston & Albany freight yards and from the powerhouse of the Cambridge Electric Light Company covered the ice with smuts, that one could skate to the Union Boat Club comfortably in thirty minutes and walk over Beacon Hill in another ten minutes. We then discovered to our surprise and disappointment that the ice was thinner under the arches of the new concrete bridges than it had formerly been without the smaller openings between the piles of the wooden bridges. We were influential in having the Anderson Bridge built without a draw. . . . Rather curiously we had the opposition of Mr. Larz Anderson, the prospective donor of the bridge, who wanted the bridge built quickly and in order to gain speed in construction was willing to have his bridge built *with a draw*. While the Anderson Bridge was under construction traffic to the Brighton side of the river slowed. As a consequence the Cambridge Boat Club hired launches and sent them from its pier to that of the Newell Boat House, thus saving much time and trouble for those attending baseball and football games in the Harvard Stadium.

I think it was after the time that the three original officers retired in favor of those then making more use of the clubhouse that the most picturesque incident occurred. Mr. X, a substitute on the Harvard University Crew, gave so much time to his rowing occupations that he had to attend the summer school, when one of his aunts arranged for him a summer membership in the Cambridge Boat Club. On his first visit he was asked by the boatman to enter his name in the book so that the charge for a boat might be rendered to him, and also, since he desired to use a shell that was then the property of the Club, a statement that he would be responsible for any damage that might occur to the shell while in his use. This he balked at and said to the attendant, "You probably do not know what my rowing experience is." The boatman said he didn't. Mr. X then referred to his exalted position on the University Crew. The boatman however insisted that he sign the guarantee. Mr. X seemed peeved; skillfully got into the Club shell and proceeded down stream. When he approached the present location of the Cottage Farm Bridge (now Boston University Bridge) there was then a flat grassy point, much of it overflowed at high water, and at the end of the

point a nest of a Canada Goose, which had previously nested on the shore of the grounds of the Perkins Institute for the Blind at Watertown. X rowed in to take a look at the nest and the goose sitting on her eggs. The next observation was from the cabin of the "John Harvard"—he said, "Where am I, Where is my boat? What has happened?" He was told: "The Canada Goose did for you, and we didn't see much of your boat". In due time the Cambridge Boat Club received a check for \$180 to buy another shell.

On December 4, 1914, Messrs. Arthur R. Jackson, A. Hayden Sawyer, H. Addington Bruce, Professor Franke, Professor Pope, Philip L. Spaulding, Anson B. Gardner, and Albert W. Rice were elected members. On March 15, 1915, Mr. E. H. Bright was elected. On January 6, 1915, it was voted to increase the membership to 171. On February 2, 1915, it was voted to increase it to 173, and on June 9, 1915, it was increased to 179. Miss Elizabeth Brandeis was that day elected a member and the directors settled the question between two ladies as to who had the right to use the clubroom on Friday evenings the following winter. It was decided that all applications in the future for use of the room should be in writing. That year dues were raised to \$6.00 for single membership. It was also voted to allow skating parties from the club on Sunday afternoons and evenings if the employees were willing.

The directors held active meetings in 1915. For example, on April 23 it was voted that tea should be served on request "whether there is to be a dance in the evening or not." Voted, to get curtains for the windows of the clubroom. Renovating of the heating plant was discussed. Voted, to provide the janitor with khaki jacket and trousers to be worn in the clubhouse. The question of employing an assistant janitor was left to the treasurer. The H. A. A. granted the club the right to use two tennis courts on Soldiers' Field during the summer vacation, with the understanding that the club would place the nets and keep the courts in good condition. When both the janitor and his assistant (obviously now engaged, July 2, 1915) were on duty members might be rowed across the river to play. Of importance to your historian is the fact that Henry R. Brigham was secretary at this time. His excellent records were preserved. Dur-

ing "the Great War," later known as World War I, members absent for one year were excused from paying dues.

The Metropolitan District Commission came into being as such in 1919. It took over the land on which the Cambridge Boat Club then stood on January 15, 1921. Mr. Bell wrote "Rumblings started against the Metropolitan District Commission, that had taken over the property from the City of Cambridge, for leasing public lands for private purposes. . . . When these demands became more and more outspoken I went to Mr. Kenniston, the Chairman of the Commission, to see if something could not be done toward moving the Boat House to another location." This plan was agreed to, apparently verbally only. The plan then was to move the clubhouse to substantially its present location. Mr. Bell said, "With this in hand I called a special meeting of the Club members. This meeting turned out to be a rather stormy affair, for there were quite a few of the members who said that my efforts were unnecessary since the Club would never be called upon to move. They claimed that they had sufficient influence to prevent it. The long and short of it was that they voted not to accept the agreement."

Over the years the history of the club was tied in with the thought of planned extension of Memorial Drive. The discussions on this and collateral questions increased in intensity. Soon involved was the effort to save a considerable part of the little park opposite the Longfellow House on the west side of Mount Auburn Street. There is a considerable sameness about these discussions through the years. The report of a few of them will show the historical significance of them all. Conspicuous in the historical story of the boat club during the years 1930-1938 were two situations. As your historian remembers it, some man, sent or inspired, went underneath the club to look over its underpinning. He took one good look and fled, fearing that the building would fall on him before he got out. The other situation was the steady effort to thwart the forced moving of the club, and the concurrent changes that were threatened at hearings at the State House on the proposed extension of Memorial Drive.

Early in the club year 1930-1931 came the appointment of a

committee on relations with the Metropolitan Park Commission. On December 2, 1930, it is interesting to note that a committee was appointed to write the history of the club's negotiations with the Park Commission to date. Obviously, they seemed to be getting complicated. It was also voted that day to appoint a committee to consider the advisability of framing an amendment to the pending legislation which, if passed, would authorize the construction of a road from Memorial Drive near Ash Street to Gerry's Landing, "so that the road shall pass north of the Boat Club's present location." On December 26, 1930, a draft was approved which specifically provided that under this act such parkway and boulevards as are authorized should be laid out so far as possible as not to destroy or displace any park, playground, boat landing, boathouse or float or other recreational facility which had been maintained for many years on or along the river bank. This became the text of years of negotiation with the Metropolitan District Commission. With the effort of the club to retain its privileges there was thus a concurrent effort to have spared the little park that lay just north of the boat club site. At a hearing at this time more than two hundred Cambridge residents, according to a newspaper account, filled to overflowing one of the largest committee rooms at the State House. Many were standing in the corridors outside. This group urged the preservation of the park along the Charles River, originally given the City by Ernest W. Longfellow.

On April 25, 1931, the directors voted to spend \$1,300 for building repairs. For the year ended October 3, 1931, the club reported a profit of \$239.02. There was then a long waiting list. On December 11, 1936, it was reported that all sixty-four piles of the clubhouse foundation had been found to be completely rotted. About \$3,200 repair cost was estimated. On this December 11 it was voted to have the Aberthaw Company place temporary props to safeguard the club.

On January 25, 1937, another hearing was held on the proposed new parkway. "The most forceful speech against it was made by Mr. George Howard Parker of Cambridge, speaking for the League of Women Voters which is solidly against it because of the much

used little park which would be entirely given up or badly cut up by the proposed parkway."

Robert G. Henderson was president of the club in 1931, and Mrs. Ernest F. Henderson was chairman of the house committee, which also included Mrs. Osgood S. Lovekin, Mrs. Marcus Morton, Mrs. Roger Pierce, and Miss Gladys Smyth. Philip W. Davis was secretary. It was planned to give five Saturday evening dances for young people in the 1932-1933 season. On November 9, 1932, there were 394 members all told; 1,541 rows were logged in the 1932 season. On January 23, 1932, it had been reported that the Cambridge Planning Board had reopened the question of moving the clubhouse up river. The outcome was an offer of a site opposite the foot of Sparks Street which the club accepted.

In 1933 sailing boats were kept at the club. The year ending November 8, 1933, showed a loss of \$1.81. Too bad this was not in black instead of red ink! On January 12, 1934, there were twenty-four resignations. In October of that year it was voted to put in a shower bath for the ladies, to cost about \$125. 1935 brought a request that Radcliffe graduate students might use the club's rowing facilities. It was pointed out that they might become members. On September 23, 1936, it was voted to ask the opinion of Mr. Marcus Morton as to the legality of a nonmember, who had engaged the clubhouse for an entertainment, issuing the invitations over his own name.

Moving along in our thoughts, as the war approached and later, as we entered it, reduction of dues for service members was voted. The British War Relief used the club every Wednesday from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. The directors voted June 2, 1942, that the U. S. Army, Navy, and other armed service officers be given the privileges of the club at a charge of \$3.00 a month, "provided they are introduced and approved by Miss Peggy Stuart." It was also voted at this meeting that the Ensigns' School might hold a dance at the club on June 20, 1942 from 5 to 7 P.M. In many ways the club joined in the war effort.

Rowing went on. The number of miles logged in the club book in the 1942 season was 4,685. Twenty-four members were on the inactive honor roll. The secretary stated that the first man to get back

from service had reapplied for membership, "which, needless to say, was extended to him." During these years the club owned excellent club singles and other more sturdy sculling boats.

A new hearing on the proposed extension of Memorial Drive was called for February 7, 1946. Mr. Horace W. Frost was then president and Mr. William L. Payson was vice-president. Their assignment was a tough one. In April 1946 the president announced the employment of Mr. Edward S. Read "to act as architect for the Club." Notice was finally sent out dated April 26, 1946, that the land on which the clubhouse stood must be vacated by May 15, 1946. A new location had been offered the club by the Metropolitan District Commission on the west bank of the river above Gerry's Landing, situated between the Browne & Nichols boathouse and the public bathhouse. These questions were then asked at a meeting: 1. "Did the Club wish to continue? It was voted enthusiastically and unanimously that it did." 2. "Was the site of Browne & Nichols boat house preferable to the site the other side of the Commission bathhouse? It was voted 68 to 7 that it was."

It was stated that the club expected to carry on its regular activities until February 1, 1947. Approximately \$7,700 had by then been subscribed towards the expenses of moving.

On February 3, 1947, President Frost stated that a site below the Browne & Nichols boathouse had been assured the club, in all probability with a lease of twenty-five years at \$1.00 per year. On that day Ted Read figured the total cost of moving at \$18,000. There was discussion as to liquidating. At or about this date among those vigorously in favor of the club moving up river was Mr. Theodore L. Storer. Your historian remembers very well his very strong statement at that time in favor of the up-river location, to the effect that the club would be foolish not to accept it. On February 12, 1947, a committee of Messrs. T. L. Storer, W. L. Payson, and Alva Morrison was appointed to decide any question arising under any contracts on consultation with the architect, Mr. Edward S. Read. It was also voted to call a special meeting of the club to authorize the issuance of twenty-five-year noninterest bearing notes of the club.

The club held a dance at the clubhouse on its old and first site on February 8, 1947. Moving of the house began February 10, 1947. As our former caretaker Frank said, "What a time getting ready to move!" Throughout the overland voyage of the clubhouse upstream to its new site all the boats stayed in the house. The two club cats also stayed in the house during the moving, and during it four kittens were born. A memorandum from Mr. Edward S. Read, the architect for the purpose of moving the clubhouse, reads in part: "Before permission was given to move . . . a petition was called for listing any war critical material that would be required. . . . Statement was made that 'the move was essential as it provided the continuation of a Club that had been the center of community activities and a leader in Cambridge affairs for over 30 years.' "

The necessary priority was granted and a contract was let on February 12, 1947 to Arthur A. Lamb of Readville who agreed to transport the building to the chosen spot for the sum of approximately \$6,000. . . . The chimney was to be left in place and moved intact. . . . Various branches of neighboring trees had to be removed. . . . Everything went well until the ground sewer outlet running into the river at the end of Sparks Street was reached. This obstacle was finally surmounted by skillfully guiding the rollers across huge timbers brought to span the chasm. On the last week of March 1947 the building approached its present resting place, but a new obstacle appeared. Changed grading of the new highway had left the new piles to hold the house higher above the ground than had been expected. The building had to be lifted bodily by new equipment to the higher level and was at last edged on to its foundation. In another month its porches, runway and floats were in position.

During the course of the proceedings, however, the landing stage with its heavy timbers and planking, 50×30 feet in width, was stolen. Finally, insurance enabled the Club to purchase some new materials that conveniently were disposed of by the Lawley Shipyard that very week. The whole project exclusive of ground improvements and involving new electrical wiring, plumbing and heating, water and sewer connections, patching the stucco walls, and filling in a foundation space below the first floor came to approximately \$18,000. Although many old members left the Club we are glad to note these vacancies were quickly filled. A parking space had been provided and shrubbery added. Lately a new heating plant has been installed.

The exterior of the clubhouse was painted that season and grading was done.

Alva Morrison was the last to row from the clubhouse at its first and old site. He was also the first to row from the clubhouse on its new site. This did not happen until June 1947, as the approaches to the water were not ready until then. There was some, but not the normal amount of rowing from the club that summer. The clubhouse on its old site on Memorial Drive had many devotees from nearby who liked to bask happily on the sun filled porch and to sit watching the river and nature. The new site was further away and changes in use of the club occurred. A big drop in membership had come in the 1945-1946 year. But Secretary Adams said that from the then membership of 161 nearly two-thirds, actually 106, had responded to the call for funds for the clubhouse.

At the annual meeting, November 25, 1947, it was voted: "To extend to the officers of the Club the gratitude of its members for their work during the past three years in successfully arranging for the moving and reopening of the Club." Your historian feels that this was most deserved. The difficulties and headaches incurred in this transition were myriad. At this meeting November 25, 1947, the officers who had carried the burden of the club so long mostly retired. Mr. Robert T. P. Storer was elected president; Mrs. Fairfield E. Raymond, vice-president; Mr. Adams S. Hill, treasurer; Mr. Albert B. Wolfe, secretary. The need of a larger membership and of more younger members was stressed. With great, and, with what seems to your historian, exceptional ability, the new officers met these stated needs for membership and other needs of the club as of that time. With one long breath after its labors, the club enthusiastically and with steadily increasing success entered the new phase of its history.

On stationery bearing the burgee of the club a notice was sent out announcing for December 19, 1947:

GALA OPENING
CHRISTMAS DINNER DANCE
8:30 to 12
Chappie Arnold's Orchestre

The new site was immediately popular. The club was off to a good

start. Of course, in its new sphere of operations there were plenty of difficulties. The use of the club had to change. For one thing the porch of the club did not get the sunlight that the porch at the old site got. But due to sound imaginative suggestions and hard and able work by the many on the committees the social side of the club was developed greatly over what it was at the old site. The parking space, of course, has helped in this respect.

The first year of club operation at the new up-river site showed a net increase of thirty-two members, family and regular, as reported at the 1948 annual meeting. The club officers and committees were well chosen, worked hard, and brought about constructive plans both as to upkeep of the club and increased social use of the club. In 1948, for example, teen-age activities were under the guidance of Mrs. Marcus Morton. In 1948 Bradford Washburn gave a talk on the conquest of Mt. McKinley. Sunday night suppers were organized. A rowing coach for the young was arranged. The ramp to the float was widened. Attention was paid to single shells, wherries, and canoes; also to the grounds about the clubhouse.

On April 18, 1951, \$2,000 was voted for repairing the float. A square dance for thirteen to fifteen year olders brought out about seventy-five children. At the annual meeting May 23, 1951, there was a spontaneous demonstration of appreciation for the retiring president's "immense contribution" to the strengthening of the club, the increase of its activities, and the healthy growth of membership during his administration since 1947. This retiring president was Mr. Robert T. P. Storer.

There were then as now club dinner dances. A 1952 mention was made in the records of "members wishing to picnic later than 8 P.M. within the Club House, on the porch or on the beautiful arborial south-side terrace." On November 23, 1953 \$330 was voted for plumbing. A little later it was voted to buy a new shell and a new double. The club has held its head up fairly erect financially. For the year ending September 30, 1960, the treasurer's report showed a loss for the year of a little over \$1,200 as a result of some nonrecurring expenses. For the year ending March 31, 1962, there was a gain of \$857.61.

There has been continued stress on junior rowing. During your historian's membership, at least, which represents approximately the last twenty-five-year period, there has been a considerable turn-over in membership in the club. A changing population of young people in the vicinity seems to indicate that this is to be expected. It seems one of the club's contributions that it can accept such turnover in its membership and yet quickly make up its losses in kind. In September 1962, 204 family and regular members were reported. Mr. Kenneth W. Brown is now the president of the club, 1963.

In the 1962 season 1,657 entries were logged in the club Log Book. Mr. Leonard Wade alone logged 1,126 miles. Over the years there has been some but never a great deal of rowing from the club aimed at outside regatta racing. There has been some representation of the Club in outside regatta rowing, but the general approach to rowing has been a more relaxed approach befitting the verses of James Russell Lowell in "Under the Willows."

The club records in one place read "Like the watermen who look astern while they row the boat ahead" (*Plutarch*, tr. W. W. Goodwin, 1831-1912). As we approach the end of this talk there is one further look behind that I promised you earlier. This refers to Leif Ericsson and the stone near Gerry's Landing that states that on this spot in the year 1000 Leif Ericsson built his house in Vineland. The stone, by the way, has been moved twice.

I have reviewed opinions and supporting arguments in various books and papers. If there ever was a proof of the old adage, "Beware of the man of one book," this seems it. One author said that where Vineland was had been a notorious guessing game for 200 years. The varieties of opinions in print and the supporting arguments are interesting. I wrote Samuel Eliot Morison the other day and this is his reply: "The consensus of opinion is that it (Vineland) could not have been further south than Nova Scotia."

It is a pretty dream but there is not sufficient supporting opinion from historians for us to accept as a fact the mind picture of a Viking ship coming up the Charles, Leif in the stern, perhaps, exhorting his crew. And by the same token the argument is clearly

against accepting the statement of the stone that on this spot Leif Ericsson in the year 1000 built his house in Vineland.

Gerry's Landing was first known as Sir Richard's Landing. Two inscriptions near Gerry's Landing commemorate the landing of the first settlers of Watertown in June 1630, under Sir Richard Saltonstall, at a spot near where the Cambridge Boat Club now stands.

Read March 26, 1963



The Boston Tea Party and the American Revolution

BY BENJAMIN W. LABAREE*

THE Boston Tea Party is one of the best-known incidents in American history, ranking in fame with Columbus' voyages, the landing of the Pilgrims, and a few battles like Lexington and Concord. In foreign countries it is perhaps the only fact associated with the town of Boston. This fame is well deserved, for the Boston Tea Party was the catalyst that brought about the American Revolution.

It is worth our while, therefore, to examine more closely why this dramatic event came about. The Boston Tea Party resulted from the interplay of at least four important historical factors: first, the social fact that American colonists drank tea, and in large quantities; second, the political fact that the British Parliament taxed this tea; third, the economic fact that the East India Company had difficulty selling its tea both at home and in the colonies; and fourth, the human fact that men charged with governmental responsibility during the tea crisis of 1773-1774 made what in retrospect can be seen as unwise decisions.

Tea first became popular in England during the course of the eighteenth century. In 1757 Samuel Johnson described himself as "a hardened and shameless Tea-drinker, who has for twenty years

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diluted his meals with only the infusion of this fascinating plant; whose kettle has scarcely time to cool, who with Tea amuses the evening, with Tea solaces the midnight, and with Tea welcomes the morning.”¹

Enough Englishmen suffered, or enjoyed, a similar addiction for tea to bring the total annual consumption of that beverage to about 13,000,000 pounds by 1770, nearly two pounds per capita. Wherever Englishmen went in the world, they took their tea-drinking habit with them, and so it is not surprising that tea was also popular in the American colonies. By the 1760's Americans consumed each year well over 1,000,000 pounds of tea, at a rate of at least three-quarters of a pound per capita.²

By law the East India Company had a monopoly over the importation of tea from China into Great Britain. After 1721 the American colonies could import tea only from the mother country. But the British government soon discovered that the tea trade was an excellent source of revenue, and during the first half of the eighteenth century tariff after tariff was levied on the importation and sale of tea until by the 1750's the duties amounted to about a hundred per cent ad valorem.³ While this policy netted the government a considerable revenue, it had a disastrous effect on the East India Company's tea trade. Tea imported into Holland by the Dutch

¹ *The Works of Samuel Johnson* (12 vols., London, 1806), 2:390.

² English consumption: [William Richardson?] paper dated Feb. 6, 1783, Add. Mss. 8133 B, ff. 312-314 (British Museum); American consumption: contemporary estimates as follows: 1,500,000 pounds (1763), "An Estimate of Tea, Sugar, and Molasses illegally imported into the Continent of North American in One Year," Add. Mss. 38335, f. 243 (British Museum); 1,500,000 pounds (1765), [George Grenville], *The Regulations Lately Made . . .* (London, 1765), p. 92, 93; 1,800,000 pounds (1766), George Spencer to Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, Jan. 8, 1766, T. 1/445 (Public Record Office); 2,000,000 pounds (1772), William Bollan to Lord Dartmouth, Dec. 22, 1772, Dartmouth Papers, II-483 (William Salt Library, Stafford); 5,000,000 pounds (1773), [Samuel Wharton], "Observations upon the Consumption of Teas in North America," Jan. 19, 1773, Wharton Correspondence, 1771-1830 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania), printed in *Penna. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, 25 (1901):139-141. I have modified these and other contemporary estimates, some of which are obviously exaggerated, by the fact that in the decade 1790-1799 Americans consumed tea at the rate of a half-pound per capita, Timothy Pitkin, *A Statistical View . . .* (New Haven, 1835), p. 250-251. The estimate of 1,200,000 pounds for the 1770's seems a reasonable compromise.

³ For a summary of the British customs duties on tea, see Samuel Baldwin, *A Survey of the British Customs . . .* (London, 1770).

East India Company was exempt from government duties there and sold for about half the total cost of English tea. A lively smuggling trade therefore developed, and by 1770 about 7,000,000 pounds of Dutch tea found its way into England each year, to the consternation of Company authorities.⁴

Large quantities of Dutch tea were smuggled into the American colonies as well, averaging as much as 900,000 pounds a year during the middle of the eighteenth century and representing about three-quarters of all the tea consumed there. Profits for illicit traders were immense, and the nature of the American coastline made strict enforcement impossible. Besides, there were never enough customs officials to do the job, and those who tried were subjected to the bullying and insults of the mobs.⁵

Sometimes smugglers obtained their illegal tea at the Dutch island of St. Eustatius in the West Indies. Boston's Thomas Hancock, for instance, dispatched one of his schooners to that island in 1754 to pick up a cargo of fifteen chests of Bohea which he had ordered sent there from Amsterdam. The captain was instructed to "stop at the lighthouse," upon his return, "where you will have a letter for your further proceeding." Hancock's venture netted him a profit of over £200. Other smugglers procured their tea directly in Holland. Meletiah Bourne, of Plymouth, sent an illegal cargo of rice to Amsterdam in 1763, where the proceeds from its sale went toward the purchase of twelve chests of Bohea tea. When Bourne's ship returned safely, he realized a net profit of £258 from the voyage.⁶

⁴ Nicholas W. Posthumus, *Inquiry into the History of Prices in Holland* (Leiden, 1946), 1:lxii, 189-190; [William Richardson?], paper dated Feb. 6, 1783, Add. Mss. 8133 B, ff. 312-314 (British Museum).

⁵ Estimates of the amount of tea smuggled into the colonies have been reached by subtracting the known quantities of legal imports (from Customs 16/1, [Public Record Office]), from the estimate of total American consumption, noted above.

⁶ Hancock's voyage: Thomas Hancock to Capt. Simon Gross, Dec. 20, 1743, Domestic Letters, Thomas Hancock Papers, 1; Thomas & Adrian Hope (Amsterdam) to Thomas Hancock, Aug. 8, 1745, Foreign Letters, Thomas Hancock Papers, 7; Thomas Hancock to Thomas & Adrian Hope, Nov. 24, 1751 and Jan. 14, 1754, Thomas Hancock Letterbook, 1750-1762; Thomas Hancock to Capt. Simon Gross, Sept. 23, 1754, Domestic Letters, Thomas Hancock Papers, 1; Invoice of Schooner *Lydia's* cargo to the West Indies, Sept. 1754, Foreign Letters, Thomas Hancock Papers, 7; "Portlidge Bill for

Most of the tea smuggled into the American colonies came to New York. Sometimes the vessels brought their illegal cargoes in directly; more often they were unloaded in one of the many small harbors of Long Island Sound, and the tea was sent the rest of the way overland. One observer estimated that in 1767 from forty to one hundred vessels discharged smuggled goods, including large amounts of tea, in various harbors along the Connecticut shoreline. Philadelphia was another smuggling center, although toward the end of the colonial period much of its illegal tea came by coastal vessel from New York.⁷

The British ministry had of course been well aware of the problem of smuggling both at home and in the colonies. In 1767 Parliament finally enacted legislation to remedy the situation in regard to tea. Called the Indemnity Act, the law among other things allowed for the next five years a full drawback of the English customs duty on all tea exported to America to encourage the legitimate tea trade with the colonies. When the Act took effect in July of that year, therefore, the East India Company was put on a more equitable footing with its continental competitors than ever before. Tea for the American market which had cost 2s. 9d. in London now sold for 2s. 1d. Imports of English tea into the colonies increased immediately, and in 1768 over 800,000 pounds were sent to America, the largest amount ever.⁸

Whatever hopes the East India Company and the honest colonial

Schooner *Lydia* . . .," Shipping Bills, Thomas Hancock Papers, 4; Thomas Hancock to Kilby & Barnard (London), April 17, 1755, and to Thomas & Adrian Hope, April 17, 1755, Thomas Hancock Letterbook, 1750-1762 (all in Harvard Business School). For Bourne's venture: Papers relating to voyage to Amsterdam, 1763, Meletiah Bourne Papers, III (same). All currency figures are in pounds sterling in this article.

⁷ Situation at New York in 1767: Andrew Brown to Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, Jan. 21, 1768, T. 1/465 (Public Record Office); at Philadelphia the Whartons were among the most active merchants dealing in smuggled tea via New York. See Thomas Wharton Letterbook, 1752-1759, and Wharton Correspondence, 1679-1756, both in Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for correspondence between Thomas Wharton and John Waddell, of New York.

⁸ Indemnity Act: 7 Geo. III, c. 56; for prices, see William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce* . . . (2 vols., London, 1813), 2:534; for export figures, see Customs 3/67 and 3/68 (Public Record Office).

merchants entertained about a prosperous future were quickly dashed by another act passed by Parliament in 1767. The Townshend Act grew out of the financial crisis that had plagued British ministries since the end of the Seven Years' War. Saddled with the expense of maintaining an army in America and of supporting numerous governmental officials there, Britons not surprisingly looked to the colonies for a source of revenue. The Stamp Act having been repealed under pressure from the colonists, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, offered another means of raising a revenue in America. By his act duties were collected in the colonies on a number of commodities commonly imported from the mother country. By far the most important of these was tea, which was subjected to a duty of three-pence per pound.⁹

The issue of "no taxation without representation," which rallied colonial opposition to the new act, focused on the tea-duty, for of all the newly-taxed commodities, tea was the most commonly used. Agreements signed by merchants not to import British manufactures were quickly supplemented by anti-tea-drinking pledges circulated through the towns and villages of America. Various local substitutes for English tea were publicized by the patriots, including "Labradore tea," made from the redroot bush. Ladies drank the new concoction at parish spinning bees and proclaimed its virtues in the local press. The campaign featured newspaper doggerel like the following verse addressed to the ladies of Boston:

Throw aside your Bohea and your Green Hyson Tea,
And all things with a new fashioned duty;
Procure a good store of the choice Labradore,
For there'll soon be enough here to suit ye;
These do without fear, and to all you'll appear
Fair, charming, true, lovely, and clever;
Though the times remain darkish, young men may be sparkish,
And love you much stronger than ever.¹⁰

⁹ Townshend Act: 7 Geo. III, c. 46.

¹⁰ *Boston Post-Boy*, Nov. 16, 1767, as quoted in Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (New York, 1918), p. 108.

Persuading colonial housewives to change their tea-drinking habits or to abandon the beverage altogether proved to be no easy task. Part of the campaign consisted in a vigorous if not convincing attack on English Bohea as a deadly poison. To this "enervating plant" were ascribed the causes of an impressive range of human ailments from stomach complaints to the most tormenting nervous disorders. Naturally Labradore tea produced none of these deplorable effects, nor, oddly enough, were such results apparently expected from Dutch tea, although of course it came from the same sources in China. Clearly, however, whatever the disease spread by English tea, it infected the political rather than the physical constitution of its American victims. Wrote one observer: "Let us abjure the poisonous baneful plant and its odious infusion—poisonous and odious, I mean, not on account of its physical qualities but on account of the political diseases and death that are connected with every particle of it."¹¹

Another man had more personal reasons for joining the anti-tea campaign. He told of a farmer-friend whose family consumed so much butter with its tea-biscuits that there was no longer enough to send to market. "There is my daughters Jemma and Keziah," the friend noted, "two hearty trollups as any in town, forenoon and afternoon eat almost a peck of toast with their tea, and they have learned me and their mother to join them," he ruefully admitted; "and as for Jeremiah, he can hardly live without it, a booby."¹²

It is difficult to tell just how effective the campaign against dutied tea was. To be sure, assertions were confidently made that the market for English tea had virtually disappeared by the middle of the year 1769. Evidence beneath the surface, however, indicates that the anti-tea movement was less than fully successful in many parts of the colonies. For one thing, patriots found it necessary to institute new rounds of anti-tea pledges at frequent intervals and to stir up town meetings to adopt new series of resolutions proscribing the baneful herb. Figures for the importation of tea into Amer-

¹¹ *Boston Gazette*, Aug. 15, 1768.

¹² A COUNTRYMAN, *Boston Gazette*, Aug. 29, 1768.

ica from England give us an accurate picture. In the two years before the non-importation movement took effect, 1767 and 1768, a total of nearly 1,400,000 pounds of tea had been shipped from England to America. In the two following years importations from England fell off to a total of 446,000 pounds, less than one-third of the previous two-year figure.¹³

Contrary to popular belief much the worst offender in the importation of dutied tea from England during this period was the town of Boston. There are two principal reasons for this. First was the fact that Bostonians had never been particularly successful in establishing permanent smuggling routes to Holland. Colonists in other provinces could patriotically swear off dutied tea without the agony of abandoning their favorite beverage, for they continued to be supplied by the New York smugglers. For Bostonians to go without English tea, however, meant that many would have to give up the habit altogether. A second reason, and perhaps more important, for the continuing flow of English tea into Boston was the presence there of two particularly obstinate mercantile firms, Richard Clarke & Sons and the partnership of Thomas & Elisha Hutchinson, sons of Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Not until the spring of 1770 did the latter firm finally agree to cease importations of dutied tea and other articles. In the meantime their house alone had accounted for more than 50,000 pounds of the tea entering and paying duty at American ports. In contrast to the situation at Boston the agreements against importing dutied tea at New York and Philadelphia were virtually airtight. For the year 1770 only 147 pounds of legal tea entered at the former port and a skimpy 65 pounds at the latter.¹⁴

Since the price of tea remained fairly constant at both New York and Philadelphia during the period of nonimportation, and since there is no indication that large numbers of inhabitants there gave

¹³ Customs 3/67 and 3/68, Customs 16/1 (Public Record Office).

¹⁴ For Richard Clarke & Sons: Richard Clarke Invoice Book, 1767-1775, and the Richard Clarke Letterbook, 1767-1769, both in New England Historic Genealogical Society. For the Hutchinsons: *Boston Chronicle*, Jan. 22, 1770, and "An Account of what Tea has been Imported into Boston, since the year 1768 . . .," Ms.L. (Mass. Hist. Soc.); totals imported at New York and Philadelphia: Customs 16/1 (Public Record Office).

up tea-drinking, it is safe to assume that smuggling continued essentially as before. Numerous reports of shipments from Holland to America filtered into the London press from consuls stationed at Amsterdam, and the newspapers in both New York and Philadelphia continued to advertise tea for sale in 1770 despite the fact that virtually none had been imported from England for over a year.¹⁵

In the spring of 1770 Parliament repealed the Townshend duties on all commodities save tea. Lord North insisted on the retention of that levy as a symbol of Parliament's authority to tax the Americans. With great effort the American patriots attempted to continue their nonimportation agreements in hope of forcing repeal of the tea-duty as well, but to no avail. By the fall of 1770 merchants in the last of the ports had abandoned their boycott of British goods with the important exception of English tea, which patriots all agreed should be blacklisted as long as the duty remained in force.

In most parts of America the continuing ban on dutied tea was quite effective. At New York and Philadelphia together only 1,000 pounds were imported from England during the years 1771 and 1772. Throughout the colonies as a whole the total was about 670,000 pounds, up fifty per cent from the nonimportation period but less than half the level attained in the two years before that movement had begun. Continuation of the duty after 1770, in short, had seriously curtailed the potential market for English tea in America. The only exception was at Boston, where in the two years 1771 and 1772 a total of over 400,000 pounds of dutied tea entered. The Clarkes and the Hutchinsons accounted for much of this tea, but a number of staunch patriots like John Hancock and Oliver Wendell were also involved. These leaks in the Boston patriots' defenses would later come back to haunt them.¹⁶

The legitimate tea trade was burdened not only by the Townshend duty, but by an additional disadvantage when the Indemnity Act expired in July 1772. After that date, instead of the whole of

¹⁵ "List of Ships . . . that have sailed from the Muse or Goeree . . . 1768," Letter from British Consul in Amsterdam, Dec. 26, 1768, Extract of Advices from Amsterdam, April 6, 1769, all in T. 64/312 (Public Record Office); *New York Journal*, May 31, 1770.

¹⁶ Customs 16/1 (Public Record Office); "An Account of what Tea has been Imported into Boston, since the year 1768 . . .," Ms.L. (Mass. Hist. Soc.).

the English duty being drawn back on tea exported to America, only three-fifths of it was rebated, resulting in a further increase in the price of about three-pence per pound. This, coupled with the Townshend duty collectable upon entry in the colonies, meant that English tea was subjected to a sixpence per pound levy after mid-1772. Tea smuggled from Holland, of course, remained free of such encumbrances.¹⁷

Enforcement of the trade laws seemed to have broken down as well. Hutchinson wrote in mid-1770 that New York's Dutch trade was under no restraint whatsoever. The collector at Philadelphia, John Swift, reported in early 1771 that "smuggling was never carried to such a great height as it has been lately. I do believe that there has been more goods smuggled into this Port within the last six months, than ever there was before in as many years." In January 1772, the Customs Commissioners in Boston issued a general warning that "large quantities of teas and other East India goods were bought up at the Annual Sales of the Danish and Swedish East India Company," obviously for eventual importation into the colonies. Swift summed up the deplorable situation in the following language:

In this country an officer of the Customs ought to see his way very clear before he ventures to make a seizure, because he is sure of having every possible difficulty thrown in his way; he is looked upon as an enemy to the community and treated accordingly, and whether he succeeds or not he is sure never to be forgiven, and thinks himself fortunate if his punishment is defer'd to a future day.¹⁸

By 1770 smuggling had become a habit with a significant minority of colonial merchants, particularly those importing sugar, molasses, and tea. These merchants had no quarrel with the theory underlying the Acts of Trade—they never denied that Parliament had the right to regulate the commerce of the Empire. In the be-

¹⁷ New drawback law: 12 Geo. III, c. 60.

¹⁸ Thomas Hutchinson to the Earl of Hillsborough, July 26, 1770, Sparks Mss. 10, New England Papers, IV, 8 (Harvard); John Swift to Commissioners of Customs, Jan. 31, 1771, Custom House Papers [Phila.], XI (Hist. Soc. Penna.); Commissioners of Customs to Collector of Customs (Salem), Jan. 23, 1772, Salem Customs House Records (Essex Institute); John Swift to John Robinson (Treasury), April 30, 1771, Custom House Papers [Phila.], XI (Hist. Soc. Penna.).

ginning they had smuggled not as patriots struggling for freedom against tyrannical oppression. They smuggled because of their greed for profit. And they continued to import Dutch tea after passage of the Townshend duty for the same reason—it was cheaper than English tea and so the margin of profit was greater.

Only when enforcement of the laws was tightened did the smugglers claim their activities to be patriotic. Then they succeeded in convincing the American public that their search for illegal profit was somehow a part of the common fight for freedom. To a large extent abuses on the part of customhouse officers made this argument plausible. Mobbing the King's officials and burning his patrol vessels became justifiable blows against "tyranny," and by 1773 law and order had completely broken down along waterfront America. Into the resulting anarchy stepped Sam Adams, Isaac Sears, Charles Thomson, and other skilled leaders to organize a massive opposition to British authority. In America the stage was set for a showdown.

The crisis came in the fall of 1773 on the issue of dutied tea. The East India Company was in dire financial straits largely because of its expensive operations in Bengal but also because of inefficiency and corruption. The smuggling of tea into England from the Continent had continued at an accelerated pace through the 1760's, and by the spring of 1773 the Company had a surplus of 17,000,000 pounds in its warehouses. A minor stockholder named Robert Herries proposed that the Company be allowed to export some of this tea on its own account to Europe with a drawback on all English duties so that it could be offered there at a price competitive with Dutch tea.¹⁹ Fear that such cheap tea would simply be smuggled back into England convinced the Company officials to ask instead that they be allowed to ship some of their surplus to America.²⁰ Lord North and the Parliament agreed to the plan in the spring of 1773, perhaps partly because much of the Company's debt was

¹⁹ General problems of the East India Company: Lucy S. Sutherland, *The East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics* (Oxford, 1952); for Herries' plan: *The Present State of the English East-India Company's Affairs . . .*, (London, [1772?]), p. 46-58.

²⁰ Hope & Co. (Amsterdam) to [East India Company], Jan. 12, 1773, East India Company Miscellaneous Letters Received, vol. 57 (Commonwealth Relations Office).

owed to the Government. But in approving the Tea Act he and his supporters refused to repeal the Townshend duty, as Opposition leaders urged them to do. "If you don't take off the duty," warned one member prophetically, "they [the Americans] won't take the tea."²¹

Lord North knew that the potential market for English tea in the colonies was enormous, as much as 2,000,000 pounds a year if the price were low enough. Furthermore, he knew that large quantities of dutied tea had been imported at Boston, more than 600,000 pounds of it since passage of the Townshend Act more than five years before. He concluded, not illogically, that most Americans would not seriously object to the duty if English tea could be made competitive with the tea smuggled from Holland.²² The East India Company in fact planned to offer Bohea at 2s. od. per pound wholesale through its agents in the colonies.²³ Smugglers of Dutch tea would be hard pressed to match that price in the winter of 1773, although by the following spring the price at Amsterdam in fact dropped sufficiently to make such competition once again possible.²⁴ Lord North was therefore hopeful that at long last the Townshend duty would provide the revenue for which it was originally intended. In the early fall of 1773 the East India Company sent off 600,000 pounds of dutied tea to four American ports: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. There each shipment was consigned to a group of merchants whose names had been suggested to the Company by English merchants who traded with Americans.²⁵

The colonists learned of the impending arrival of the Company's tea in early October 1773. Gradually at first, then with increasing momentum a protest movement swept through the seaports. Inflammatory pamphlets appeared at New York; a mass meeting convened at Philadelphia; Boston patriots caught the fever and aroused

²¹ Cavendish Debates, Egerton Mss. 246, p. 4-5 (British Museum).

²² Cavendish Debates, Egerton Mss. 246, p. 6-7, 9-11, 13, 14-16 (British Museum).

²³ East India Company Court of Directors to Thomas & Isaac Wharton, et al., Oct. 1, 1773, "Papers Relating to the Shipment of Tea . . ." (Hist. Soc. Penna.).

²⁴ Posthumus, *Inquiry into the Prices*, p. 189-190.

²⁵ Francis S. Drake, *Tea Leaves . . .* (Boston, 1884), p. 245-254.

their followers to oppose the scheme. In the beginning the smugglers of tea at New York and Philadelphia undoubtedly took a leading role in the protest, railing against the dangers of monopoly inherent in the East India Company's plan. But popular resentment grew out of the fact that the tea was subject to the hated Townshend duty. All the earlier arguments against English tea were now revived with a vengeance, and the whole question of Parliamentary taxation in America was reopened. Many patriots saw in the shipment a devilish plot between the Company and the Ministry to tempt the colonists into recognizing Parliament's claims by offering them cheap but dutied tea. The American susceptibility to the conspiracy theory of history made this argument particularly appealing.

By mid-November 1773, the inhabitants were thoroughly aroused. At both Philadelphia and New York the consignees of the tea publicly resigned their commissions when the authorities failed to intercede in their behalf. But at Boston quite a different situation developed. In the first place, several of the consignees were closely related to Governor Hutchinson, including of course his sons. Secondly, the Governor was in no mood to give in to the demands of the patriots that the tea be returned to England as soon as it arrived. After many years of struggle with the likes of Sam Adams, he had reached the end of his patience and was ready for a showdown. Hutchinson had good reason to think that he could win this contest, for at Boston were stationed two regiments of troops, several ships of the British fleet, and the office of the Customs Commissioners. British authority seemed well established. The patriots, on the other hand, were equally determined to force the issue. Embarrassed by recent disclosures that large quantities of dutied tea had entered at Boston in recent years, Adams and his supporters were stung by criticism from the patriots at New York and Philadelphia that the Bostonians were unreliable.²⁶ There could be no backing down now.

On November 28 the bluff-bowed ship *Dartmouth* worked its way

²⁶ "Extract of a letter from Philadelphia," *Massachusetts Spy*, Nov. 4, 1773; "Extract of a letter from Philadelphia dated 4 December 1773," *Boston Gazette*, Dec. 13, 1773.

into Boston Harbor with the first shipment of tea to reach America under the Company's new plan. Mass meetings immediately demanded that the consignees resign their commissions and order the vessel to return to England. Instead of complying, they took refuge at Castle William in Boston Harbor, along with the Customs Commissioners, where they were safe from the rough tactics of persuasion commonly used by the Boston mob. Since the *Dartmouth* was in the harbor, its captain had to enter both his ship and cargo at the customhouse, and therefore neither could depart without a clearance from the Collector. The guns at Castle William commanding the channel gave assurance that the vessel would not leave without permission. Under the law, if the duties were not paid within twenty days, the tea would be landed and confiscated by the customs authorities. The patriots were convinced that once the tea was ashore the consignees would gladly pay the infamous duty, and the tea would soon find its way into the market place. Only by preventing the discharge of the cargo could the patriots be certain that the duties would go unpaid. They ordered the ship *Dartmouth* to lie at Griffin Wharf, where it was kept under armed guard, and when two more tea-ships arrived in early December, they too were brought to the wharf. *Dartmouth's* tea would be eligible for seizure on December 17, and as that day approached, tension mounted throughout Boston.

In mid-December another series of mass meetings convened to demand that the ships return to England with their cargoes of tea. On the 14th *Dartmouth's* young owner, Francis Rotch, was persuaded to ask the Customs Collector for a clearance, but that official refused on the grounds that the duties had not been paid. On December 16 another public meeting ordered Rotch to demand a pass for his vessel by Castle William from Governor Hutchinson. The Governor had spent most of the preceding weeks at his country seat in Milton, away from the mobs, and consequently he was somewhat out of touch with the sense of growing crisis at Boston. Partly for this reason, or perhaps simply because he was a stubborn man, Hutchinson refused to make an exception to the rule that a ship had to be cleared first by the customhouse before being allowed to depart.

When Rotch returned to the meeting at Old South Church to report that Hutchinson had refused his request, pandemonium broke loose. A warwhoop sounded from a group of men disguised as Indians standing at the door. It was answered from the balcony. As the meeting broke up and the people streamed toward Griffin Wharf, other bands of men roughly disguised converged on the scene. About fifty climbed aboard the vessels and in three hours had emptied 340 chests of tea into the harbor. Long before midnight the inhabitants had all returned to their homes, and the town was once again at peace. But relations between Great Britain and her American colonies would never be the same again.²⁷

News of the Boston Tea Party spread southward to New York and Philadelphia within a week. At both ports the consignees had already resigned, and when their tea-ships finally arrived, the patriots had little difficulty persuading the captains to return to London with their unwanted cargoes without first entering at the local customhouses. Again the governmental authorities made no effort to force the issue. At Charleston, South Carolina, the tea-ship did enter, but when the duties remained unpaid after twenty days, the cargo was confiscated by the officers and locked away for safe-keeping.²⁸ Generally speaking, news of the Boston Tea Party was greeted with enthusiasm in most parts of America; those who were repulsed by this act of violence kept their opinions to themselves.

When first accounts of the incident reached England in late January 1774, the reaction was different. A wave of hostility toward Boston swept the country. Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and long considered friendly to American interests, was exasperated by Boston's latest misbehavior. He recommended

²⁷ For arrival of ship *Dartmouth*: *Boston Gazette*, Nov. 29, 1773; for contemporary accounts of the events at Boston, including the Tea Party itself, see Samuel Cooper to Benjamin Franklin, Dec. 17, 1773, Thomas Cushing et al. to Arthur Lee, Dec. 21, 1773, John Scollay to Arthur Lee, Dec. 23, 1773, and "Dr. Williamson's Examination before the King's Council in London," all *Mass. Hist. Soc., Proceedings*, 4th series, 4 (1858): 373-389.

²⁸ An account of the events at New York, where the tea ship did not arrive until April 1774, is in *New York Gazette*, April 25, 1774, and Drake, *Tea Leaves*, p. 359-360; for Philadelphia, see *Penna. Packet*, Dec. 27, 1773, and *Penna. Gazette*, Dec. 29, 1773; for Charleston, see [Timothy's] *South Carolina Gazette*, Dec. 20 and 27, 1773, and *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, Dec. 24, 1773.

to the Cabinet that the port be closed until the Company was compensated for its losses and order was restored.²⁹ The Ministry had long contemplated altering the charter of Massachusetts Bay to weaken the power of the elective Governor's Council. Now this and other plans for "new modeling" the provincial government were brought before Parliament. Over the opposition of a few men like Edmund Burke the Coercive Acts were adopted by overwhelming majorities.³⁰

When news of these punitive measures reached America in mid-May 1774, colonists everywhere supported the plight of Boston as the common cause. Most New Englanders favored immediate retaliation in the form of an embargo of all trade with Great Britain and the West Indies, and many Southern patriots concurred. In the end, however, the more moderate attitude of inhabitants from the middle colonies prevailed: a general congress of delegates from all the colonies would be convened to decide what was the wisest policy for America to adopt.

Throughout the summer of 1774 the movement for a congress gained momentum as inhabitants gathered in town and county meetings to endorse the idea. Provincial conventions in each colony chose delegates and drew up instructions for their guidance. In early September the first Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. Within a few weeks it was clear that the patriots were in firm control. Proposals for compromise and reconciliation with the mother country had little chance of adoption. Instead, the delegates supported Boston's refusal to pay for the tea and called for a continental-wide ban on importations from the mother country in an attempt to force the repeal of all odious acts of Parliament passed since 1764.³¹

²⁹ Minute of the Cabinet Meeting of Feb. 4, 1774, Dartmouth Papers, II-817 (William Salt Library, Stafford); North to King George III [n.d.: Feb. 5, 1774], Sir John Fortesque, *Correspondence of King George the Third* (6 vols., London, 1928), 3:55. Fortesque mis-dates this letter as January 1774, but it was in fact written the day after Dartmouth's proposition to the Cabinet.

³⁰ For debates over the adoption of the Coercive Acts, see William Cobbett, *The Parliamentary History of England* (36 vols., London, 1806-1820), 17:1163-1325, 1350-1353.

³¹ Worthington C. Ford, ed., *The Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (34 vols., Washington, 1904-1937), I.

The crisis brought on by the destruction of tea at Boston provoked extreme measures on both sides of the Atlantic, with neither camp willing to compromise the issues which divided them. During the winter of 1774–1775 the patriots stocked up on gunpowder and went into military training, while British troops stationed in America prepared for the worst. In April 1775, the inevitable clash occurred, on Lexington green, and the War for American Independence had begun.

The Boston Tea Party was the catalyst that set off the revolt of the colonies. In three short hours on a cold December night in 1773 a small band of men started a chain reaction that led with little pause to the Declaration of Independence. Perhaps some other event might have had the same result. We will never know. But we do know that the Boston Tea Party had just those characteristics necessary to change the course of history. In September 1773, the vast majority of American colonists went about their daily affairs blithely ignoring the desperate efforts of a few radical patriots to keep alive the spirit of resentment that had swept through the colonies in the years from 1765 to 1770. In September 1774, these radicals succeeded in bringing about a congress of representatives from all the major colonies and committed those delegates to a position of defiance few of them would have accepted twelve months earlier. For such a reaction to take place in so short a time required a catalyst precisely suited to the conditions around it. The Boston Tea Party was such a catalyst.

In the period 1770–1773 a number of issues remained unsettled between the colonies and the mother country. There was, for instance, the question concerning payment of governors' salaries out of the King's revenue, thus rendering them independent of the colonial legislature. There were numerous questions involving enforcement of the Acts of Trade, particularly the abusive conduct of some customs officials and the jurisdiction of the vice-admiralty courts. British restrictions on western migration and settlement was a third troublesome topic. Another concern was the possibility that the Anglican Church would establish an episcopate in the colonies.

There were also many general questions about the imperial constitution, particularly the extent to which Parliament had the right to make laws for America. But few of these issues involved very many colonists directly, and those that did seemed too theoretical to attract much comment. Americans who worried about these problems at all for the most part worried alone, for the patriots were too disorganized in the period 1770–1773 to evoke much support from the great mass of colonists, most of whom were content with the status quo.

Any change in this status quo on the part of Great Britain, however, might well have serious consequences. An overly-vigorous campaign against smuggling, or further restrictions in the West, or the establishment of an American episcopate could each precipitate another crisis. Potentially the most dangerous question was the right claimed by Parliament to colonial taxation, for this was an issue which affected all inhabitants. Furthermore, of course, it had aroused American resentment once before, in the period 1765–1770.

In 1773 several British statutes in fact still provided for a revenue from colonial trade, among which were duties on foreign wines and molasses. But these acts had long been accepted by most Americans as regulatory in nature despite preambles to the contrary. Only the Townshend duty on tea was left to remind the colonists of Parliament's claim to taxation. But in September 1773, the tea-duty question must have seemed rather unpromising to the most optimistic of radical patriots. Dutied tea was regularly imported into both New England and the southern colonies, where it was openly sold and consumed. In the middle colonies tea smuggled from Holland was so common that virtually none had been imported from England in nearly five years. Therefore, the Townshend duty was a theoretical threat only. Resentment over Parliament's asserted right to tax the colonies seemed to have died out altogether. Or so Lord North and his supporters thought when they adopted the Tea Act in May 1773 and refused to rescind the Townshend duty in the process.

Opposition to the East India Company's tea plan was based almost entirely on the issue of the tax. To be sure, the smugglers in

New York and Philadelphia supported the campaign because their lucrative trade was endangered. But the threat of monopoly was of secondary importance, too remote to concern most Americans. Not so the question of taxation, however, for this was an issue long familiar to all colonists in the fall of 1773. Besides, agitation during the nonimportation period had concentrated on tea as the most common of the dutied articles. Its consumption would imply acquiescence to Parliamentary taxation. No matter that many colonists had in fact drunk dutied tea before. For now the issue had a new aspect to it.

What made the plan to send dutied tea to America particularly ominous was the nature of the arrangement itself. Patriots were quick to maintain that it was a conspiracy between the Ministry and the Company to force American recognition of Parliamentary taxation. Letters from Americans in Britain and from English merchants who resented the scheme for their own selfish reasons added credibility to the charge. Most important, however, was the fact that the colonists were willing to endorse the accusation. Many Americans had long ascribed to a devil theory of the universe. If a belief in the literal existence of Satan had died out with the witchcraft mania at the beginning of the century, the Devil's political cousin remained to haunt Americans of later generations. In short, the Company's cheap tea was bait for a trap set by the enemies of America. To accept these shipments was to admit the right of Parliament to tax the colonists.

Once popular resentment had been aroused, resistance to the Company's tea was accomplished with comparative ease. For in most American ports mob violence had been a commonplace since 1765. Harassment of stamp distributors, of merchants violating nonimportation agreements, and of overzealous customs officials met with little effective opposition from governmental authorities. In the autumn of 1773 the mere brandishing of a tar brush was generally enough to persuade the most stubborn "enemies of the people" to mend their ways. Such was the case with the tea-consignees at New York and Philadelphia. But at Boston the situation was different. There the conspiracy theory seemed particularly plausible, since the consignees were in part related to the governor, and

a diabolical governor at that. Hutchinson was even accused of having inspired the Tea Act in the first place. The refusal of the consignees there to resign their commissions and the governor's refusal to let the ships depart with the tea could only be ascribed to motives of the basest kind. Unwilling to permit the cargo to be landed, or even to accept a compromise, the patriots destroyed the tea.

Had the Tea Party occurred at New York or Philadelphia instead, as might well have happened under slightly different circumstances, it is questionable whether the same reaction would have followed in Great Britain. The fact that the tea was destroyed at Boston made the deed doubly offensive in the minds of Britons, for Boston had long been regarded as the seat of American agitation. When Rhode Islanders burned His Majesty's cutter *Gaspée* in 1772, an offense at least as serious as the destruction of the East India Company's tea, Parliament investigated but took no action. But that was in Rhode Island. Boston was different. There the Stamp Act riots had been particularly violent. There the Customs Commissioners had been driven to refuge on Castle Island more than once. There British troops were met with open hostility. Even as news of the Tea Party reached England, the Privy Council had before it the impertinent demand from Massachusetts Bay that its governor be removed from office. So bad was the town's reputation at home that many Britons attached undue significance to evidence that Bostonians were equally hated throughout the colonies. This assumption was a fatal misunderstanding, for it led the Parliament to believe that the town could be punished without arousing the sympathy of the other colonists.

English resentment over the Boston Tea Party was so strong that caution was thrown aside. When the East India Company had fallen into financial straits in 1772, Parliament appointed two special committees to consider the crisis. The Company was given opportunity to be heard, and legislative action came only after nearly five months of investigation and discussion. Had the Government shown this care in formulating its policy toward Boston in the spring of 1774, perhaps its program would not have been so disas-

trous. As it was, however, the Opposition's words of caution went unheeded. The Coercive Acts brought precisely that result which the Ministry most hoped to avoid—the union of the American colonies.

It is not surprising that when word of Parliament's action reached America, the cause of Boston became the common cause. That town, thought many inhabitants, was being punished for its resistance to a wicked scheme that colonists elsewhere had also opposed. The spirit of unity that erupted in the late spring of 1774 had its immediate roots in the common agitation of the previous autumn. The enormity of the Coercive Acts quickly overshadowed the violence of the Boston Tea Party, which had been a source of private embarrassment to many moderates. Now one no longer had to condone the destruction of private property in order to defend American liberty.

The Coercive Acts had moved the dispute onto new grounds. It was now a question of whether the colonists had any rights at all in the face of Parliamentary oppression. The Port Act punished all Bostonians, innocent and guilty alike, without a hearing and without an opportunity to make restitution before the harbor was closed. The Massachusetts Government Act did violence to the sacrosanct charter itself, for it attacked the basic institutions of self-government. In short, the Coercive Acts were a display of naked power. There was no pussyfooting about virtual representation now, no attempt to make the bitter pill more palatable. Troops and frigates made such legal niceties unnecessary.

The Coercive Acts confirmed for many Americans the suspicion that the British government was in the hands of diabolical men. What happened in Massachusetts Bay would happen one by one in the other colonies as well. The alteration of one provincial charter made it more likely that changes in others were soon to follow. In the absence of a single act demonstrating their good will, the Ministry and Parliament became conspirators against the rights of all Americans. For the first time in the struggle between Great Britain and the colonies a crisis had come that seemed to threaten freedom throughout the country. The rights of inhabitants in rural towns

and counties were threatened along with those of the seaport-dwellers. And now for the first time country folk could take concrete action in defense of American liberty. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, showed their sympathy for the martyred Bostonians by donations from the produce of their farms. This action gave the people living in areas remote from the seacoast their first real sense of commitment to the cause.

That this spirit of unity was transformed into a union in fact was due partly to the vast improvement of communications between the colonies in the ten years since the Stamp Act crisis. Better roads and more newspapers meant that the resolutions of every town and county were quickly available for all to read. Establishment of formal committees of correspondence was of course a significant step, but their exchanges were supplemented by an even wider private correspondence between patriot leaders of different colonies. By the summer of 1774 Americans everywhere knew that their fellow colonists were ready for common action.

A Continental Congress was the logical means by which to take this action. Inhabitants throughout the colonies had the opportunity to express their views in the resolutions adopted by virtually every local governing body. It was not surprising that a firm policy toward Great Britain gained broad endorsement, for the Coercive Acts had all but destroyed conservative alternatives. By summer's end the idea of adopting a plan of commercial retaliation to force a redress of grievances had won almost universal approval, and the delegates assembling at Philadelphia brought this mandate with them.

Within twelve months after the Boston Tea Party the colonists had become convinced that their very freedom was at stake, and the rulers of Great Britain concluded with equal conviction that the Americans were in rebellion. As George III said of the New England colonies in November 1774, "blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country or independent."³² With both sides more willing to fight than to retreat, war became inevitable.

Read May 21, 1963

³² George III to Lord North, Nov. 18, 1774, *The Correspondence of King George the Third*, ed. Sir John Fortesque (6 vols., London, 1928), 3:153.

In recognition of
the services to this Society of
JOHN REED WALDEN

August 1, 1905–April 18, 1963

Editor of the Cambridge Historical Society

Proceedings 1952–1962

Harvard College, A.B. 1926, A.M. 1928

Life Resident of Cambridge

College Department Editor,

D. C. Heath Company, Publishers, Boston

Scholar, Administrator, and Generous Friend





Annual Reports

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1961

THE fifty-sixth annual meeting of the Society was held at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Osborne Earle on Tuesday, January 24, 1961, at quarter past eight o'clock. The President, Mr. Payson, presided.

The Secretary's report and that of the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar, Mr. Sterling Dow, were read and accepted, also that of the Curator. The Treasurer's report was placed on file. The report of the Nominating Committee was read by Mr. George W. Howe and the Secretary was authorized to cast a vote in its favor.

With this business completed, the President introduced Mr. Abbott Lowell Cummings of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, who presented a paper entitled "Identifying the Seventeenth Century House." It was very interesting, most informative, and well illustrated by slides. The early houses were simply planned, but before long the styles of architecture began to change. By the end of the seventeenth century many of the colonists were well to do or became so, and many of their houses could well be called mansions.

The spring meeting was held Tuesday, April 25, in the Lee-Nichols House. The President announced that beginning in 1962 the spring meeting would be held in March rather than in April to spread the meetings more evenly apart.

Mr. Evarts was then introduced and told the story of James Richardson beginning with his great-grandfather who fought in the French and Indian wars and who was killed in the battle of Lexington and Concord. Richardson was a Wide Awake man who subscribed to the Southern newspapers and was convinced the South was in earnest. Early in January 1861 he put notices in the *Cambridge Chronicle* and posters on trees calling for volunteers to form a company to protect the Union. In spite of skepticism a company was formed; so when on April 15, 1861, President Lincoln called for 75,000 men, Richardson's company was the first in the nation to be mustered in the Federal service. Mr. Evarts carried the story to the end of the war, when Richardson acquired a commission in the regular army in Texas and spent the rest of his life there. Records of some of the Civil War songs, both of the North and of the South, were played and mementos of Richardson were shown by his granddaughter.

The Garden Party meeting was held at four o'clock on May 23 in the Lee-Nichols House. In the absence of the President, the first Vice-President Mr. Evarts presided and introduced Mr. Charles W. Eliot, 2nd, Professor of City and Regional Planning at Harvard, who spoke on the "Charles River Basin." Mr. Eliot's point of view was that the river, which was free when the Puritans arrived, was controlled more and more and often abused by the inhabitants for their own benefit. It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that they began to realize the condition of the river, made unsightly and dangerous to health by the disposal in the river of all kinds of waste. Now people are awakened to the fact that changing the river banks to parkways and using conservation measures would be a benefit to the whole basin. The day was lovely, the refreshments were served out on the lawn, and many lingered long to chat.

The fall meeting was held Tuesday, October 24, at the Lee-Nichols House. The President told of the planting of trees and shrubs outside by the Garden Committee and of the installing a new furnace

inside by the Building and Grounds Committee. He then introduced Mr. James Barr Ames, who read a paper on "The Founding of the Mount Auburn Hospital." It was really two stories woven together. It began with a remarkable Cambridge woman, Miss Emily Elizabeth Parsons. When the Civil War broke out she took a training course in nursing and later an active part during the War. After her return home she felt strongly that Cambridge should have a hospital of its own and worked hard to arouse the inhabitants. Here the second part comes in. The city was fortunate to have alert and generous citizens and enthusiastic doctors who often worked for nothing. After six years they succeeded in getting a charter from the Legislature, on February 13, 1871. There were all kinds of troubles and difficulties, but Miss Parsons never gave up hope. Her death in 1880 at the age of fifty-six inspired her friends and interested citizens to raise a large sum of money to keep the hospital going. Miss Parsons' dream of a hospital for Cambridge became a reality.

The Council held four meetings during the year—February 8, May 11, October 4, and November 29. Some of the work was routine. At the first one the membership of the standing committees was announced and the members reported deeds accomplished at later meetings. The chairman of Buildings and Grounds generally asked for authority to repair something about the house, maybe small or large, such as the new furnace. The Garden Committee was busy working out its plans, and the House Committee was working on draperies for the front parlor.

This past year we were involved in the bill before the Legislature to allow the selling of part of the Common for the construction of a privately owned fifteen-story office building. The Common land had been given years ago for the benefit of all the citizens, and not for private use. Our President attended the hearing at the State House and later the Council voted that the President be authorized and directed to oppose the proposition as vigorously as possible. Later on the Governor vetoed the bill.

In May the President nominated Mrs. George W. Howe and Mr.

Albert B. Wolfe as representatives of the Society at the meetings of the City Committee for Historic Sites in Cambridge.

The Society enjoyed its participation in the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the founding of Christ Church by holding an Open House on Saturday, October 14, as one of the houses contemporary to Christ Church. Refreshments were served in the dining room by members of the church while members of the Society acted as hostesses. Over 230 persons signed our guest book and about fifty others preferred not to do so. We received many pleasant remarks about our House.

At the October meeting to fill the gap in our Finance Committee caused by the recent death of Mr. William Donnison Swan, the President appointed Mr. George W. Howe to serve as the new "third member" of the Finance Committee until the general elections at the annual meeting on January 23, 1962.

At the November meeting Mrs. Cutter reported that with the advice of Mrs. Ross and the help of Mrs. Harwood, Mrs. Roorbach, and Mrs. Sutherland the parlor draperies were finished and were already hanging over the windows. They give a feeling of warmth to the room.

The President announced the speakers for the rest of the year and possible ones for the future. There was much discussion over whether to raise the limit of our regular membership. The rooms in the Lee-Nichols House are small and to add members would soon crowd the rooms and make it uncomfortable. However, it was finally VOTED to present at this meeting the amendment of Article IV of the By-laws to read "that the regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred and fifty."

We are grateful to our officers and committee members for carrying us so smoothly through this past year, to our hosts and hostesses for so willingly doing their part, to our Thursday afternoon hostesses for giving so generously of their time, and lastly to our Editor, Mr. John R. Walden, for producing such a well-done new volume, number thirty-eight of our Proceedings.

Respectfully submitted,
Anna D. Holland, *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY
FOR THE YEAR 1962

THE fifty-seventh annual meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, January 23, 1962, at quarter past eight o'clock in the Washburn Hall of the Episcopal Theological School. The President, Mr. Payson, presided.

The Secretary's report and that of the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar, Mr. Sterling Dow, were read and accepted. The Treasurer's report was placed on file. The report of the Nominating Committee was read by Mr. George W. Howe, and the Secretary was authorized to cast a vote in its favor.

Article iv of the By-laws was amended to read: "The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred and fifty." The Amendment was passed unanimously.

Upon the completion of the business part of the meeting, the President introduced Mr. William J. Young, head of the Research Laboratory of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, who read a paper entitled "The Adventurous Field of Restoration and Examination." In it he described how the "Bay of Naples" paper in the West chamber of the Lee-Nichols House had been removed, cleaned, and then replaced on the wall with the panels in the correct order. Other papers were found under this, and specimens of them were saved.

The spring meeting was held on Tuesday, April 3, at quarter past eight in the Lee-Nichols House. The President, Mr. Payson, presided.

This was the first meeting to be held in our parlor with its new draperies and window seats, which were made by the House Committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Ammi Cutter. The handsome rug acquired by the Society, largely under Mrs. George W. Howe's direction, was on display for the first time.

Judge Bolster was introduced and presented his paper entitled "Cambridge Court Houses." This included their history from 1630 to the present.

The Garden Party meeting was held at four o'clock on May 22 in the Lee-Nichols House. Mr. Evarts presided in the absence of the President, Mr. Payson.

Mrs. George W. Howe was introduced and gave a comprehensive account of the proceedings and report of the Cambridge Historic Districts Study Committee.

As the day was pleasant, the refreshments were served on the lawn.

The fall meeting was held on Tuesday, October 30, at eight-fifteen at the Lee-Nichols House with the President, Mr. Payson, presiding. Mr. Foster McCrum Palmer, Assistant Librarian for Reference in the Harvard College Library, read a paper entitled "Horse Car, Trolley, and Subway."

Four Council meetings were held during the year—on February 7th, March 14th, October 2nd and November 30th—at seven forty-five o'clock at the Lee-Nichols House. The agenda of these meetings comprised the reports of the committee chairmen and the planning for the stated meetings.

With the close of another year of the Society, we are most grateful to our officers and committee members for the responsibilities which they have carried. Again we thank our hosts and hostesses for their part at our meetings, and we appreciate our Thursday afternoon hostesses giving so generously of their time.

Respectfully submitted,
Catharine K. Wilder, *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY
FOR THE YEAR 1963

THE fifty-eighth annual meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held on Tuesday, January 22, 1963, at Andover Hall of the Harvard Divinity School. The annual reports of the officers were read and accepted. The report of the Nominating Committee, which included Mr. George Howe, Miss Penelope Noyes, and Mr. William Payson, was accepted and the secretary was instructed to cast one vote for the slate.

Mr. Wendell Garrett, associate editor of *The Adams Papers* and speaker of the evening, read a paper accompanied by slides on "The Topographical Development of Cambridge, 1796-1896."

The spring meeting took place on March 26 at the Lee-Nichols House with Mr. Richard Evarts, the first Vice-President, presiding. Mr. Ralph May read a paper on "The History of the Cambridge Boat Club."

The Garden Party meeting was held at four o'clock on Tuesday, May 21, at the Lee-Nichols House with Mr. William Payson presiding. He paid a tribute to Mr. John Reed Walden, who had recently died. The Society is indebted to him for the painstaking care with which he edited and published the *Proceedings* for so many years. At this meeting Mr. Benjamin W. Labaree, Assistant Professor of History at Harvard University, read a paper on "The Boston Tea Party."

The autumn meeting took place at the Lee-Nichols House on Tuesday, October 22, with Mr. William Payson presiding. He announced that Mr. Henry D. Winslow had been elected by the Cambridge City Council to membership in the Cambridge Historical Commission. Mr. Arthur Sutherland was voted an alternate. Mr. William H. Bond, Curator of Manuscripts in the Houghton Library, read a paper entitled "Private Letters to a Public Monument," which was an account of Henry W. Longfellow's voluminous correspondence.

The Council held four regular meetings and a special one was called in August to answer the request of the Mayor of Cambridge for candidates from the Society to be presented to the City Council for election to the Historical Commission.

This annual report affords another opportunity to express our gratitude to the speakers for their excellent papers, and to the members of the committees who have faithfully performed their duties throughout the year. Unfortunately the illness of Miss Penelope Noyes prevented her from taking an active part in Council meetings and in securing hostesses for Thursday afternoons at the Lee-Nichols House. However, her sustained interest in the Society has continued from her home, and Mrs. Chauncey Gray graciously consented to assume the responsibility for the Thursday hostesses. To them and all who have been hosts and hostesses at the meetings the Society owes a debt of gratitude.

Respectfully submitted,
Catharine K. Wilder, *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1961

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1961

Income

Investments

Savings Banks	\$ 467.45	
Bonds	1,067.96	
Common Stocks	<u>1,585.69</u>	\$3,121.10
Deduct — Bond Premiums		
Written Off		<u>36.75</u>
Net Income from Investments		\$3,084.35

Operations

Membership Dues	1,582.00	
Guest and Admission Fees	50.75	
Sale of Publications	46.79	
Sales—Miscellaneous	1.70	
Donations—House Maintenance	654.00	
Donations—Special	<u>2,106.77</u>	<u>4,442.01</u>

Total Income \$7,526.36

Operating Expense

Operations

Meetings	\$ 469.14	
Clerical and Postage	204.77	
Printing and Stationery	71.75	
Proceedings	1,626.99	
Miscellaneous	<u>38.25</u>	\$2,411.00

Real Estate—159 Brattle Street

Repairs and Maintenance	2,241.18	
Insurance	286.25	
Miscellaneous	<u>31.98</u>	<u>2,559.41</u>

Total Operating Expense \$4,970.41

Net Income for the Year \$2,555.95

Deduct

Addition to Structural Repair Fund 1,500.00

Excess of Income for Year \$1,055.95

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS
DECEMBER 31, 1961

Assets

Cash in Checking Account	\$ 1,966.11
Savings Accounts	14,460.53
Bonds @ cost or face value (Market Value \$27,156)	26,974.05
Common Stocks @ cost (Market Value \$53,936)	35,627.69
Land	1.00
Buildings	1.00
Furniture and Fixtures	1.00
Collections, etc.	1.00
Total Assets	<u>\$79,032.38</u>

Funds

Restricted Principal			
Cook Bequest	\$ 1,006.67		
Emerson Bequest	20,000.00		
Life Memberships	<u>1,325.00</u>	\$22,331.67	
Unrestricted Principal			
Bequests and Donations	19,319.89		
Unexpended Income	<u>10,722.04</u>	30,041.93	
Principal Gains		8,164.41	
Reserve for Structural Repairs		6,000.00	
Plant and Contents		4.00	
Unappropriated Surplus		<u>12,490.37</u>	
Total Funds			\$79,032.38
Changes in Funds Year ended December 31, 1961			
Balance January 1, 1961			\$72,104.72
Additions for Year:			
Excess of Income		\$1,055.95	
Principal Gains		\$4,371.71	
Appropriation from Net Income to			
Reserve for Structural Repairs		<u>1,500.00</u>	<u>6,927.66</u>
Balance December 31, 1961			\$79,032.38

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1962

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1962

Income

Investments

Savings Bank	\$ 587.82	
Bonds	1,161.60	
Common Stocks	<u>1,850.90</u>	\$3,600.32

Operations

Membership Dues	1,588.00	
Guest and Admission Fees	64.73	
Sale of Publications, etc.	76.00	
Donations—		
House Maintenance	602.00	
Donations—Special	<u>2,070.00</u>	<u>4,400.73</u>

Total Income

\$8,001.05

Operating Expense

Operations

Meetings	\$ 503.41	
Clerical and Postage	222.23	
Printing and Stationery	142.50	
Miscellaneous	<u>24.60</u>	892.74

Real Estate—159 Brattle Street

Repairs and Maintenance	570.39	
Insurance	337.25	
Acquisitions	<u>598.89</u>	<u>1,506.53</u>

Total Operating Expense

\$2,399.27

Net Income for Year

\$5,601.78

Deduct

Addition to Structural Repair Fund \$2,500.00

Excess of Income for Year

\$3,101.78*

* Common Stock Purchases: \$3,016.93

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS

DECEMBER 31, 1962

Assets

Cash in Checking Account		\$ 3,304.83
Savings Bank Account		15,706.66
Bonds @ cost or face value (Market Value \$27,547)		26,974.05
Common Stocks @ cost (Market Value \$56,591)		38,644.62
Land		1.00
Buildings		1.00
Furniture and Fixtures		1.00
Collections, etc.		1.00
Total Assets		<u>\$84,634.16</u>

Funds

Restricted Principal

Cook Bequest	\$ 1,006.67	
Emerson Bequest	20,000.00	
Life Memberships	<u>1,325.00</u>	\$22,331.67

Unrestricted Principal

Bequests and Donations	19,319.89	
Unexpended Income	<u>10,722.04</u>	30,041.93

Principal Gains

8,164.41

Reserve for Structural Repairs

8,500.00

Plants and Contents

4.00

Unappropriated Surplus

15,592.15

Total Funds

\$84,634.16

Changes in Funds Year Ended December 31, 1962

Balance January 1, 1962

\$79,032.38

Additions for Year

Excess of Income	\$3,101.78
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Appropriations from Net Income to

Reserve for Structural Repairs

2,500.00 5,601.78

Balance December 31, 1962

\$84,634.16

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1963

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1963 AND 1962

	Year Ended		Year Ended	
<i>come</i>	December 31, 1963		December 31, 1962	
Investment Income				
Savings Bank Interest	\$ 674.07		\$ 587.82	
Bond Interest	1,150.00		1,161.60	
Dividends on Stocks	<u>2,115.89</u>	\$3,939.96	<u>1,850.90</u>	\$3,600.32
Operating Income				
Membership Dues	1,558.00		1,588.00	
Guest and Admission Fees	43.42		64.73	
Sale of Publications, etc.	12.56		76.00	
Donations for House Maint.	593.08		602.00	
Special Donations	<u>2,288.00</u>	<u>4,495.06</u>	<u>2,070.00</u>	<u>4,400.73</u>
otal Income		8,435.02		8,001.05
<i>xpenses</i>				
Operating Expense				
Meetings	418.65		503.41	
Clerical and Postage	213.49		222.23	
Printing and Stationery	134.50		142.50	
Miscellaneous	<u>72.88</u>	<u>839.52</u>	<u>24.60</u>	<u>892.74</u>
Real Estate, 159 Brattle Street				
Repairs and Maintenance	3,585.40		570.39	
Insurance	347.64		337.25	
Acquisitions		<u>3,933.04</u>	<u>598.89</u>	<u>1,506.53</u>
otal Expenses		<u>4,772.56</u>		<u>2,399.27</u>
Excess of Income over Operating				
Expenses for the Year		3,662.46		5,601.78
Deduct Additions to Reserves				
Reserve for Structural Repairs	1,500.00		2,500.00	
Reserve for Publication of				
Proceedings	<u>1,500.00</u>	<u>3,000.00</u>		<u>2,500.00</u>
Excess of Income over Expense				
for the Year		\$ 662.46		\$3,101.78

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS
DECEMBER 31, 1963 AND 1962

	December 31 1963	December 31 1962
<i>Assets</i>		
Cash in checking account	\$ 4,967.29	\$ 3,304.83
Cash in savings account	17,706.66	15,706.66
Bonds, at cost or face value (Market value \$27,272 [1963] and \$27,547.19 [1962])	26,974.05	26,974.05
Common stocks, at cost (Market value \$63,136 [1963] and \$56,591 [1962])	38,644.62	38,644.62
Other Assets, at nominal value		
Land	1.00	1.00
Buildings	1.00	1.00
Furniture and Fixtures	1.00	1.00
Collections, etc.	1.00	1.00
Total Assets	<u>\$88,296.62</u>	<u>\$84,634.16</u>
<i>Funds</i>		
Restricted principal funds		
Cook Bequest	\$ 1,006.67	\$ 1,006.67
Emerson Bequest	20,000.00	20,000.00
Life Memberships	1,325.00	1,325.00
	<u>22,331.67</u>	<u>22,331.67</u>
Unrestricted principal funds		
Bequests and Donations	19,319.89	19,319.89
Unexpended income	10,722.04	10,722.04
	<u>30,041.93</u>	<u>30,041.93</u>
Unallocated principal gains	<u>8,164.41</u>	<u>8,164.41</u>
Reserve for structural repairs		
Balance, January 1, 1963 and 1962	8,500.00	6,000.00
Appropriated from net income	1,500.00	2,500.00
	<u>10,000.00</u>	<u>8,500.00</u>
Reserve for publication of Proceedings		
Appropriated from net income, 1963	1,500.00	

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Plant and contents fund	4.00	4.00
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Unappropriated surplus

Balance January 1, 1963 and 1962	15,592.15	12,490.37
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Excess of income over expenses for year	662.46	3,101.78
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Balance January 1, 1963 and 1962	<u>16,254.61</u>	<u>15,592.15</u>
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Total Funds	\$88,296.62	\$84,634.16
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To the Officers of the
Cambridge Historical Society
Cambridge, Massachusetts:

I have examined the statement of assets and funds of the Cambridge Historical Society as of December 31, 1961, and the related statements of income and expense, and changes in funds for the year then ended. My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as I considered necessary in the circumstances.

In my opinion, the accompanying statement of assets and funds and the related statements of income and expense and changes in funds present fairly the financial condition of the Cambridge Historical Society at December 31, 1961, and the results of its operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

Robert A. Cushman
Certified Public Accountant

Cambridge, Massachusetts
January 15, 1962

To the Officers of the
Cambridge Historical Society
Cambridge, Massachusetts

I have examined the statement of assets and funds of the Cambridge Historical Society as of December 31, 1962, and the related statements of income and expense, and changes in funds for the year then ended. My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as I considered necessary in the circumstances.

In my opinion the accompanying statement of assets and funds and the related statements of income and expense and changes in

funds present fairly the financial condition of the Cambridge Historical Society at December 31, 1962, and the results of its operations for the year then ended in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

Robert A. Cushman
Certified Public Accountant

Cambridge, Massachusetts
January 22, 1963

To the Officers of the
Cambridge Historical Society
Cambridge, Massachusetts

I have examined the comparative statement of assets and funds of the Cambridge Historical Society as of December 31, 1963, and 1962, and the related comparative statement of income and expense for the years then ended. My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as I considered necessary in the circumstances.

In my opinion, the accompanying comparative statement of assets and funds and the related comparative statement of income and expense present fairly the financial condition of the Cambridge Historical Society at December 31, 1963, and 1962, and the results of its operations for the years then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding years.

Robert A. Cushman
Certified Public Accountant

Cambridge, Massachusetts
January 18, 1964



List of Members, 1961, 1962, 1963

* Died ** Resigned A Associate Member L Life Member

Douglas Payne Adams
Marian Harmon Stanwood (Mrs. D. P.) Adams
Caroline Elizabeth Ayer (Mrs. R. W.) Albright
Raymond Wolf Albright
Margaret Wilder (Mrs. P. F.) Alles
Paul Frost Alles
Elizabeth Gardner (Mrs. C.) Almy
Mary Almy
Harriet Hastings (Mrs. O. I.) Ames
James Barr Ames
Mary Ogden (Mrs. J. B.) Ames
Oakes Ingalls Ames
Eleanor Appel
John Bradshaw Atkinson
Louise Marie (Mrs. J. B.) Atkinson
David Washburn Bailey
Ellen Nealley (Mrs. G.) Bailey
Gage Bailey
Helen Harwood (Mrs. I. W.) Bailey
Frances Josephine Baker
** Alethea Pew (Mrs. E. J.) Barnard
* Edmund Johnson Barnard
Ruth Richards (Mrs. A.) Beane
Ralph Beatley
Pierre Belliveau
Katherine Eliza Kneeland Henry (Mrs. K. H.) Benedict
Helen Thomas (Mrs. H. L.) Blackwell
Howard Lane Blackwell

- Frank Aloysius Kenney Boland
Velma Louise Gibson (Mrs. F. A. K.) Boland
Charles Stephen Bolster
Elizabeth Winthrop (Mrs. C. S.) Bolster
Sylvia Church (Mrs. I.) Bowditch
Rebecca Crowningshield Browne (Mrs. R. F.) Bradford
Robert Fiske Bradford
- ** Florence Adam Royer (Mrs. W. H.) Bradley
Laura Post (Mrs. S. A.) Breed
- ** Mary MacArthur (Mrs. K.) Bryan
- ** Mary Lothrop (Mrs. McG.) Bundy
- ** McGeorge Bundy
Eleanor Sheridan (Mrs. D. E.) Burr
Douglas Bush
Hazel Cleaver (Mrs. D.) Bush
Harriet Ropes (Mrs. R. C.) Cabot
- * Bernice Cannon
Paul DeWitt Caskey
Ruth Blackman (Mrs. P. D.) Caskey
- ** Alice Channing
Elizabeth Parker (Mrs. M. C.) Chapin
Melville Chapin
Louise Fletcher (Mrs. C. L.) Chase
- * Dudley Clapp
- ** Helen Sheldon (Mrs. D.) Clapp
- A Roger Saunders Clapp
- A Winifred Irwin (Mrs. R. S.) Clapp
Anna E. Steckel (Mrs. A. H.) Cole
Arthur Harrison Cole
- L Mabel Hall Colgate
Mary Conlan
- ** John Phillips Coolidge
- ** Mary Elizabeth Welch (Mrs. J. P.) Coolidge
Theresa Reynolds (Mrs. J. L.) Coolidge
Phyllis Byrne (Mrs. G.) Cox
Katharine Foster Crothers
Esther Lanman (Mrs. R. A.) Cushman
Robert Adams Cushman
- ** Sally Adams (Mrs. C. F.) Cushman

- Richard Ammi Cutter
 Ruth Dexter Grew (Mrs. R. A.) Cutter
 John Francis Davis
 Margaret Finck (Mrs. J. F.) Davis
 Gardiner Mumford Day
 Cecil Thayer Derry
 Thomas Henri De Valcourt
 Arthur Stone Dewing
 * Frances H. Rousmaniere (Mrs. A. S.) Dewing
 Frank Currier Doble
 Helen Dadmun (Mrs. F. C.) Doble
 Frances Cooper-Marshall (Mrs. J.) Donovan
 James Donovan
 Elizabeth Flagg (Mrs. S.) Dow
 ** Ethel Dora Appleton (Mrs. G. L.) Dow
 ** George Lincoln Dow
 Sterling Dow
 Arthur Drinkwater
 Dows Dunham
 Marion Jessie (Mrs. D.) Dunham
 James Morse Dunning
 Mae Bradford (Mrs. J. M.) Dunning
 * Aldrich Durant
 L Ethel Harding (Mrs. F. C.) Durant
 ** Faith Lanman (Mrs. A.) Durant
 Eleanor Clark (Mrs. O.) Earle
 Osborne Earle
 Charles William Eliot, 2nd
 Regina Dodge (Mrs. C. W.) Eliot
 Mary Fife (Mrs. L. E.) Emerson
 Mary Lillian (Mrs. R. C.) Evarts
 Richard Conover Evarts
 * Pearl Brock Fahrney
 Marian Carter Thomson (Mrs. R. M.) Faulkner
 Richard Manning Faulkner
 ** Hester Lawrence (Mrs. R. D.) Fay
 ** Richard Dudley Fay
 Eleanor Tyson Cope (Mrs. H. W.) Foote
 Henry Wilder Foote

- Edward Waldo Forbes
- Lois Whitney (Mrs. A. B.) Forbes
- Alden Simonds Foss
- Dorothy Tenney (Mrs. A. S.) Foss
- A Francis Apthorp Foster
- Ingeborg Gade Frick
- Claire MacIntyre (Mrs. R. N.) Ganz
- Robert Norton Ganz
- Martha Jane Nuckols (Mrs. W. D.) Garrett
- Wendell Douglas Garrett
- Catherine Ruggles (Mrs. H. G.) Gerrish
- Hollis Gupstill Gerrish
- Henry Lathrop Gilbert
- Priscilla Brown (Mrs. H. L.) Gilbert
- Roger Gilman
- Robert Lincoln Goodale
- Susan Sturgis (Mrs. R. L.) Goodale
- Charles Chauncey Gray
- Pauline De Friez (Mrs. C. C.) Gray
- Dusser de Barenne (Mrs. J. D.) Greene
- L Helen McQuesten (Mrs. P.) Gring
- Addison Gulick
- Margaret Buckingham (Mrs. A.) Gulick
- Lilian Helen (Mrs. T.) Hadley
- Edward Everett Hale
- Helen Holmes (Mrs. E. E.) Hale
- ** Rufus Frost Hale
- ** Tacie Belle Houston (Mrs. R. F.) Hale
- Amy deGozzaldi (Mrs. R. W.) Hall
- Constance Huntington Hall
- Richard Walworth Hall
- Mary Louise Perry (Mrs. R. W.) Harwood
- Christina Doyle (Mrs. R. H.) Haynes
- Robert Hammond Haynes
- Florence Wilhelmina (Mrs. N.) Heard
- Lucy Gregory (Mrs. R. G.) Henderson
- Robert Graham Henderson
- Erastus Henry Hewitt
- Jane Meldrim (Mrs. E. H.) Hewitt

- A Albert Frederick Hill
 - Georgiana Ames (Mrs. T. L.) Hinckley
 - Elizabeth Mary Hincks
- * Janet Eliott (Mrs. R. B.) Hobart
- * Richard Bryant Hobart
 - Anna Coolidge Davenport (Mrs. C. M.) Holland
 - George Wright Howe
 - Lois Lilley Howe
 - Rosamond Coolidge (Mrs. G. W.) Howe
- * Elsie Powell (Mrs. E.) Ingraham
 - Dorothy Judd (Mrs. W. A.) Jackson
 - William Alexander Jackson
 - Anna Hollis (Mrs. C. S.) Jeffrey
 - Charles Street Jeffrey
- L Constance Bouvé (Mrs. H. A.) Jenks
- L Henry Angier Jenks
- * Llewellyn Jones
 - Susan Wilbur (Mrs. L.) Jones
 - Frances Ruml (Mrs. W. K.) Jordan
 - Wilbur Kitchener Jordan
- * Albert Guy Keith
- L Theodora Keith
- ** Frederick Hammond Knight
- ** Lucy Harrison (Mrs. F. H.) Knight
 - Louise Higgins Langenberg
 - Rowena Morse (Mrs. W. L.) Langer
 - William Leonard Langer
 - Marion Florence Lansing
 - Delmar Leighton
 - Isabella Carr Thompson (Mrs. D.) Leighton
 - Margaret Child (Mrs. G. A.) Lewis
- ** Susan Taber Low
 - Ella Sewell Slingluss (Mrs. G. A.) Macomber
 - George Arthur Macomber
 - Dorothy St. John Manks
- * James Watt Mavor
 - Gladys Smyth (Mrs. R.) May
 - Ralph May
 - Elinor Gregory (Mrs. K. D.) Metcalf

- Keyes De Witt Metcalf
Alva Morrison
Amy Gallagher (Mrs. A.) Morrison
James Buell Munn
Ruth Crosby Hanford (Mrs. J. B.) Munn
** Elizabeth Dunham (Mrs. G. H.) Nadel
** George Hares Nadel
Elizabeth Flint (Mrs. F. H.) Nesmith
Harriet Jackson (Mrs. H. W.) Newbegin
Henry Webster Newbegin
Edwin Broomell Newman
Mary Beaumont (Mrs. E. B.) Newman
Grace Wyeth (Mrs. A. P.) Norris
John Torrey Norton
Rose Eleanor Demon (Mrs. J. T.) Norton
Penelope Barker Noyes
** Joseph A. O'Gorman
Isabel Marchant (Mrs. W. G.) O'Neil
Walter George O'Neil
Doris Madelyn (Mrs. F. M.) Palmer
Foster McCrum Palmer
* Nancy Johnson (Mrs. S. B.) Parker
Stanley Brampton Parker
Frederica Watson (Mrs. W. L.) Payson
Gilbert Russell Payson
William Lincoln Payson
** Barbara Welch (Mrs. E.) Peabody
Marion Hilton Pike
Elizabeth Bridge Piper
Mary Friedlander (Mrs. J. S.) Plaut
Hartwell Pond
* Lucy Kingsley (Mrs. A. K.) Porter
** Faith Eddy (Mrs. J. M.) Potter
Mildred Clark Stone (Mrs. D. T.) Pottinger
Fred Norris Robinson
George Irwin Rohrbough
Martha Fraser (Mrs. G. I.) Rohrbough
Alfred Sherwood Romer
Ruth Hibbard (Mrs. A. S.) Romer

- Anne Elizabeth Hubble (Mrs. G. B.) Roorbach
- * Gertrude Swan (Mrs. J. C.) Runkle
 Paul Joseph Sachs
 Charles Rodney Sage
 Marjorie Llewellyn (Mrs. C. R.) Sage
 Edward Joseph Samp, Jr.
 Agnes Goldman (Mrs. A.) Sanborn
 Cyrus Ashton Rollins Sanborn
 Laura Dudley (Mrs. H. H.) Saunderson
- ** Erwin Haskell Schell
- ** Esther Sidelinger (Mrs. E. H.) Schell
- 1 Edgar Vigers Seeler, Jr.
- 1 Katherine PerLee (Mrs. E. V.) Seeler
 Eugenia Jackson (Mrs. P. P.) Sharples
 Philip Price Sharples
 John Langdon Simonds
 Mary Frances Trafton (Mrs. J. L.) Simonds
 Elizabeth Copley Singleton
 Carol Mary Smith
 Clement Andrew Smith
- * Edna Stevenson (Mrs. W.) Smith
 William Stevenson Smith
 Chauncey Depew Steele, Jr.
 Marian Elizabeth (Mrs. C. D.) Steele
 Katharine Ladd Storey (Mrs. T. L.) Storer
 Theodore Lyman Storer
 Carolyn Stubbs
- ** Lura Gaston (Mrs. G. S.) Summers
 Arthur Eugene Sutherland
 Mary Elizabeth Genung (Mrs. A. E.) Sutherland
 Ellamae McKee (Mrs. W. D.) Swan
- * William Donnison Swan
 Helen Ingersoll Tetlow
 Persis Louisa Webster (Mrs. C. F.) Toppan
 Priscilla Gough (Mrs. R.) Treat
 Robert Treat
- 1 Eleanor Gray (Mrs. H. D.) Tudor
- 1 Mary Wellington (Mrs. K. S.) Usher
 Mabel Henderson (Mrs. W. E.) Vandermark

- * John Reed Walden
 - Marjory Howland (Mrs. M. H.) Walter
- * Henry Bradford Washburn
 - Marguerite Bigelow (Mrs. W. B.) Webster
 - William Burton Webster
 - Daniel Bradford Wetherell
 - Esther Elizabeth Hughes (Mrs. D. B.) Wetherell
 - Harriet Eaton (Mrs. T. N.) Whitehead
 - Thomas North Whitehead
 - Jane Revere Coolidge (Mrs. W. M.) Whitehill
 - Walter Muir Whitehill
 - Charles Frederick Whiting
 - Amos Niven Wilder
 - Catharine Kerlin (Mrs. A. N.) Wilder
 - Constance Bigelow Williston
 - Grace Davenport (Mrs. H. J.) Winslow
 - Henry Davenport Winslow
- * Henry Joshua Winslow
 - Katharine Nichols (Mrs. H. D.) Winslow
 - Henry Wise
 - Pearl (Mrs. H.) Wise
 - Albert Blakeslee Wolfe
 - Beatrice Ewan (Mrs. A. B.) Wolfe
- * Alice Russell (Mrs. J. W.) Wood
 - John William Wood
 - Charles Conrad Wright
 - Elizabeth Hilgendorff (Mrs. C. C.) Wright
- * Elizabeth Woodman (Mrs. C. H. C.) Wright



By-laws

As adopted June 17, 1905, with amendments to January 23, 1962

I CORPORATE NAME

The name of this corporation shall be "The Cambridge Historical Society."

II OBJECT

The Corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving books, manuscripts, autographs, photographs, furniture, furnishings and other objects of historical interest, together with the right to provide a place or places for the preservation and exhibition of the same; of preserving for posterity and exhibiting buildings and places of historical or antiquarian interest; of procuring the publication and distribution of manuscripts and papers of historical or antiquarian interest, and generally of promoting interest in research in relation to the history of Cambridge, in buildings of historical or antiquarian interest situate therein and in objects of antiquarian, historical, literary or artistic interest.

III REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

Any resident of, or person having a usual place of business in, the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, or any town or city within twenty-five miles of the city limits of said Cambridge, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon payment of the current fees.

IV LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred and fifty.

V HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Any person nominated by the Council may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VI ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP

An indefinite number of associate members may be elected provided that such candidates are not eligible for regular membership as defined in Article III of these By-laws. Nominations for associate membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VII SEAL

The seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words *Scripta Manent*.

VIII OFFICERS

The officers of this Corporation shall be a Council of fourteen members, having the powers of Directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, an Editor, and a Curator, elected out of the

Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

IX DUTY OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in order of their rank.

X DUTY OF SECRETARY

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XI DUTY OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities of the Society and shall keep its accounts in proper books; shall receive and pay all moneys and collect all debts; shall have power to sign and endorse checks in the name of the Corporation and to receipt for all moneys due the Corporation; and shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Finance Committee. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties; but he may be excused from giving such bond, by majority vote of the Council. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

XII DUTY OF EDITOR

The Editor shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of the preparation for the press of the Society's proceedings and of

their printing, publication, and distribution, as well as of the printing and distribution of other pamphlets and books issued by the Society for general circulation.

XIII DUTY OF CURATOR

The Curator shall have charge under the direction of the Council of all books, manuscripts, and other memorials of the Society, except those lodged at the headquarters building of the Society and except the records and books kept by the Secretary and the Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIV DUTY OF COUNCIL

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for the meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XV MEETINGS

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in January in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of April and October of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

XVI QUORUM

At meetings of the Society ten members and at meetings of the Council four members shall constitute a quorum. Members of the Society may vote either in person or by proxy in writing filed with the Secretary. No proxy which is dated more than six months before the meeting named therein shall be accepted, and no such proxy shall be valid after the final adjournment of the meeting.

XVII STANDING COMMITTEES

At each Annual Meeting the President shall appoint the following Standing Committees:

1. A Finance Committee, which shall consist of the President, the Treasurer, and one member of the Society at large, the latter to be preferably a member regularly engaged in the investment business. This Committee shall, subject to the control of the Council, supervise and direct the investment of the funds of the Society; shall review the annual budget of the Society and the budgets of the Committee on Grounds and Buildings and the House Committee; and shall see that the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers are properly audited and that securities are examined and accounted for each year.
2. A Committee on Grounds and Buildings, which shall consist of five members, chosen from the Council and from the Society at large. This Committee shall, subject to the control of the Council, have charge of the buildings and grounds at 159 Brattle Street, Cambridge, and any other buildings and grounds that may hereafter become the property of the Society.
3. A House Committee, which shall consist of five members, chosen from the Council and the Society at large and including the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar. This Committee shall, subject to the control of the Council, have charge of the interior decoration of the house at 159 Brattle Street, Cambridge, and of any other houses that may hereafter become the property of the Society; shall work with the Emerson Scholar and any other custodians of the Society's buildings in order to accomplish suitably the purposes of the Society in the ownership of such buildings; and shall submit to the Finance Committee an annual budget.

The President shall be ex-officio a member of all Standing Committees and shall fill all vacancies that may occur between Annual Meetings of the Society.

XVIII THE WILLIAM AND FRANCES WHITE EMERSON SCHOLAR

In grateful recognition of the long interest of Frances White Emerson and William Emerson and of their munificent bequests to the Society, the Council shall annually appoint a member of the Society to be known as the William and Frances White Emerson Scholar. The Emerson Scholar shall occupy the house at 159 Brattle Street,

Cambridge, free of charge and under conditions outlined in Articles of Agreement satisfactory to the Council. He shall also have charge, under the direction of the Council, of the headquarters building of the Society and of all books, manuscripts, memorials, furniture, and furnishings of the Society lodged therein. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIX DUES

The amount of the annual dues for regular and associate members shall, except as to those heretofore exempted from the payment thereof, be fixed from time to time by a majority vote of the Council.

XX RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual dues within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XXI DISSOLUTION

If at any time the active membership falls below ten, this Society may be dissolved at the written request of three members, according to the laws and statutes of this Commonwealth.

XXII DISPOSITION OF PROPERTY UPON DISSOLUTION

Upon dissolution of the Society, the books, manuscripts, collections, the invested and other funds of the Society, and such other property as it may have, shall be transferred to such institution or institutions doing similar work as may seem best to the members of the Society.

XXIII AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS

These By-laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.

HECKMAN
BINDERY INC.



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N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA 46962

